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1000 CITY CHURCHES

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

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The directorate of the Institute is composed of: John R. Mott, Chairman; Trevor Arnett, Treasurer; Kenyon L. Butterfield, Recording Secretary; James L. Barton, W. H. P. Faunce and Paul Monroe. Galen M. Fisher is Executive Secretary. The offices are at 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

1000 CITY CHURCHES

PHASES OF ADAPTATION TO
URBAN ENVIRONMENT

BY

H. PAUL DOUGLASS



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INTRODUCTION

THE PROJECT AND ITS OUTCOME

Origin and Development

In response to requests from religious leaders especially interested in the city church, two projects in the city field were provided for in the 1922 appropriations of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys (now the Institute of Social and Religious Research). One was defined as the religious study of a representative industrial city of from 50,000 to 150,000 population; Springfield, Mass., being ultimately chosen for this purpose. It was urged by the Institute's advisors that concurrently with this survey of a particular city some more general study in the field of the city church be undertaken. The second project was therefore authorized under the loose designation, "City Church Handbook," with the assumption that it would be a source book of information about the work of many such churches, particularly in relation to their environments.

Those particularly interested in the second project held extended conferences on February 9th and 10th, 1922, at which time the character and objectives of the project were further sharpened and major decisions as to its conduct reached.¹ It was agreed (1) that the study should concern churches in cities of 100,000 population and over; (2) that it was statistically desirable to secure a 10 per cent. sample of such churches; and (3) that comparison with results of surveys of rural churches previously undertaken by the Institute might profitably be made.

Negatively, it was decided that the study should not be of any single type of city church nor of a single problem, and that, on the other hand, it should not undertake to cover the entire subject of the city church. Neither was it to be an attempt to give the working pastor direct help in meeting his immediate parish problems. Rather, it was to be a book of description and classification, a study of types of churches which should determine what kinds exist, characterizing them and pointing out their similarities and differences.

¹ Those present at these conferences were Rev. Thomas Burgess, Secretary for work among foreign-born Americans, Department of Missions, Protestant Episcopal Church; Rev. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, D.D., Methodist Episcopal Church; Mr. Kenneth Gould, American Hygiene Association; Rev. George Wales King, D.D., Pastor, Markham Memorial Church, St. Louis; Rev. William P. Shriver, D.D., Director, City and Immigrant work, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, and Prof. Arthur L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary, together with Galen M. Fisher, Executive Secretary, and representatives of the staff of the Institute.

In reaching this decision, it was assumed that the study was the first of a series, and that the resulting book would "furnish the basis for the volumes which are to follow." The discussion repeatedly characterized it as a "first book." As such alone should it be judged.

The discussion of the conference left unsettled the question of whether ready-made categories for classifying churches already existed or whether they would have to emerge from statistical processes. It also failed to determine the fundamental issue: namely, what philosophy of the church and its functions should be assumed and what standards of judgment applied.

PHASES OF THE STUDY

The project, as thus initiated and partially defined, was then turned over to the survey staff for execution. In its hands, and partially incident to change in personnel, it underwent further significant developments. In its earlier phase it sought primarily to secure information from churches recommended by and usually approached through denominational departments dealing with city churches, by means of brief schedules describing the church and its community. A predetermined classification of churches in current use by these agencies was assumed to be valid and to constitute a proper basis for sorting into groups, the characteristics of which were then to be determined statistically.

This process was later modified and supplemented for the following reasons: (1) As time elapsed the number of schedules returned was not nearly sufficient to constitute a reasonable and convenient statistical sample. (2) It came to be questioned whether the churches recommended by the denominational departments were broadly representative. A strong bias was apparent in favor of the type of church in which a given department was particularly interested and with which it was officially concerned. Consequently, a new method of selection seemed desirable in order to assure a more genuinely cross-sectional view of the city church. (3) The denominational departments were found not to agree fully upon the classifications to be used, while the churches sometimes found it impossible to classify themselves under the categories offered. These facts rendered some of the resulting material statistically non-comparable.

In the second phase of the study, efforts were made to avoid these difficulties. The number of churches from which information was received was greatly increased in two ways: first, by the discovery of a considerable number of Interchurch World Movement

surveys of city churches; and, secondly, by the employment of additional field workers who secured new schedules. The Inter-church surveys had attempted to cover all of the churches in their respective cities and thus tended strongly, so far as they went, to show complete cross-sections of the organizations under investigation. The field workers were forewarned against bias in their selection of churches for study. Finally, all predetermined classifications were abandoned and an attempt was made to find a principle of classification in statistical examinations of the actual data. Wide field contacts with churches and their leaders greatly illuminated the inquiry.

TIME AND WORKERS

The first phase of the field work occupied the spring, and the second the summer and early fall of 1922. During this entire period the time of the staff was divided between the present study and the Springfield survey.

From the early fall of 1922 to the beginning of 1925 the interpretative phase has been under way, involving the preparation of statistics and the writing and editing of the present manuscript. During this period, however, other projects have had the major share of time and attention from those concerned.

From the beginning of the project to the late summer of 1922, Miss Merle Higley, acting director of the then city survey department of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, had active executive responsibility, with H. Paul Douglass as Field Director. The major part of the field work was carried on by the Field Director, with the assistance of Prof. W. L. Bailey, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; Rev. Victor G. Flinn, New York City, and Miss Helena M. Dickinson of the Institute staff.² Miss Dickinson was also statistician of the project in its interpretative phase. The principal responsibility for handling and interpreting material and for the preparation of manuscript was entrusted to the Field Director, with the collaboration of Prof. W. L. Bailey especially with respect to the environmental classification of churches and the interpretation of the church in the metropolitan city.

The Data

The primary data for this study are schedules of information for 1,044 churches in cities having 100,000 population or more.³

² The number of cities visited and schedules secured by the field work assistants was as follows: Prof. Bailey, 6 cities, 159 schedules; Mr. Flinn, 8 cities, 96 schedules; Miss Dickinson, 3 cities, 56 schedules.

³ Twenty-seven schedules were admitted from cities with less than 100,000 population,

As already indicated, the schedules were obtained at different times and by different methods. Many already secured by the Interchurch World Movement in 1920 were known to exist here and there. A few of them had been gathered into the central office of the Movement, and at its lapse came into the custody of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. More had lodged in the files or storage rooms of city Church Federations or in the offices of local denominational executives. These had to be discovered and tabulated by field workers going from city to city. In a few cases there had been a hasty local interpretation and utilization of the survey results, but for the most part this material was pure salvage. One hundred eighty-one tabulable schedules were secured in this way from a much larger number that were examined. It is of some significance in the total history of the Interchurch World Movement that the present study could and did partially utilize much of these otherwise waste data.

NEW DATA

The major part of the basic data of the study was, however, new. It was secured during the spring and summer of 1922 by the two methods previously noted: namely, (1) through the city departments, or some analogous bureau, of most of the denominations whose administrative boards had such specialized agencies. These departments recommended the churches of their denomination for study and generally sent out the schedules to them. The denominations thus coöperating were the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal South and Presbyterian. This coöperation yielded a total of 101 valuable schedules. (2) Six hundred sixteen schedules were secured by direct field investigation made specifically for the project.

SUMMARY OF SOURCES

Stated summarily, the sources of the primary data were as follows:

Old Schedules—Interchurch World Movement

On file in Central Office	146
Secured by field workers	181
Total	<u>327</u>

according to the 1920 Census, all but one of which were believed to have reached this mark by the date of the survey, or were already included by the United States Census in metropolitan districts of more than 100,000 people.

New Schedules	
Secured coöperatively, through denominational boards.....	101
Secured directly by field workers	616
Total	<u>717</u>
Grand Total	<u>1,044</u> ⁴

CONTENTS OF SCHEDULES

Drawn from different sources as the material was, and secured under different auspices and with different objectives, its several strata naturally showed different contents. The Interchurch schedules covered several hundred items, most of which had to be ignored because there was nothing to correspond to them in the data secured through denominational coöperation. Obviously, full comparison and interpretation could be based only upon the particular items of information which were common to all the schedules as supplemented by correspondence and field work. Other information could be used only incidentally.

The thirty-five items common to all the schedules are listed in Appendix A. Practically, they constitute the content of the schedule for purposes of this study; that is to say, they were the only items on which information was available for the entire number of churches.⁵

ENVIRONMENTAL DATA

The second most important body of data used by the study concerned the parish environment of 314 churches. In seeking new schedules the study set itself to determine whether a church was in a "downtown" or a residential location and what the social quality of its immediate neighborhood was; also, how many members lived within one, two, three and four or more miles of it; and how many north, south, east, or west. The Interchurch World Movement material contained no such data. To answer such questions was difficult, since they went beyond matters ordinarily included in church records and involved the actual mapping of membership lists, or at least very systematic and painstaking estimates. The exact content of the environmental data is shown and the inferior statistical value of the more limited number of schedules on which it depends is recognized and discussed in later paragraphs.⁶

⁴ The distribution of churches covered by these schedules by cities and by denominations appears in Appendix Tables 1 and 45.

⁵ Twelve more items were included in about four-fifths of the schedules. See p. 229, and Appendix Table 36.

⁶ See p. 248.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Entering into the final interpretation of the data above described was a great mass of supplementary material not susceptible of comparable statistical treatment.

Among the 1,044 churches studied were 121 included in exhaustive surveys of St. Louis and Springfield, Mass., made under the same field direction as the present study. Competent local tabulations and general summaries on the basis of the included Interchurch schedules had been made in the cities of Hartford and Los Angeles, and summaries of more limited scope were available in certain other cities. For almost every church studied first-hand, calendars, annual reports, photographs and, frequently, parish maps were secured, totaling many thousands of illustrative documents. Independent surveys made by individual churches and surveys and reports existing in denominational or Church Federation offices in cities visited were all drawn upon for collateral information.

The whole constitutes by far the largest body of first-hand information concerning American city churches of the Protestant communions ever assembled or investigated at one time.

Definition and Limitations

The assertion of the last paragraph implies two issues of definition. It raises the questions: (1) What is a church? and (2) What churches are Protestant? The former is so basic that it can have only preliminary discussion here, full consideration being reserved for the body of the text.⁷ In principle every Protestant religious institution was accepted as a church which labeled itself such. The question, "What churches are Protestant?" was theoretically settled by the inclusion of everything except Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Hebrew churches and those of the historic non-Christian faiths.

Actually, however, the churches studied were drawn from a narrower range than is thus indicated. The limitation in practice was determined by the auspices under which the schedules were originally obtained and by the fact that the working contacts of the study were with the body of Protestant churches that sentimentally and practically recognize one another as such.

The exact limits of this group are not capable of theoretical definition. It excludes certain churches which are neither Catholic, Jewish nor his-

⁷ See p. 42. It may be indicated here that one of the major emphases of the study is upon the fact that the churches lie within the field of a larger group of religious institutions and that the boundary line between the two is not perfectly defined. The study is particularly insistent upon the significance of the inchoate and embryonic forms of religious organization commonly ignored in religious thinking, not practically recognized nor belonging within the self-conscious church group. If everything was counted as a church which the social student will wish to recognize as such the distribution of sorts and varieties which the sample of 1,044 churches reveals might be far from accurate.

torically non-Christian. Practically, however, the grounds of distinction are well recognized by the Protestant bodies of every city and of the country at large. In any given situation it is easy to determine exactly who are included and who are excluded. Thus, the intensive survey of Springfield, Mass., showed that the Theosophical, Spiritualistic and more radical Pentecostal groups, although denominational status is accorded to them in the United States Census, were practically ignored by the main Protestant body, as were certain International Bible Student and "Russellite" groups not recognized as denominations by the Census. If these religious fringes are omitted for the simple reason that they are practically excluded (though from the strictly sociological standpoint they ought not to be), the major body of recognized and well-established Protestant churches is left as the subject of this study.

THE BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE

The sample is, therefore, broadly representative of the entire body of Protestant city churches which are practically recognized as such by the group at whose initiative and in whose immediate behalf the study was made. This group contains the recognized and better-established denominations—those which are accustomed to count one another as part of the common Protestant forces and to cooperate practically as such.

It is within this "universe of discourse" that the study assumes to portray the "American city church." In other words, just as the limitation to Protestant churches is always assumed, so is the limitation to the group of Protestant churches which have definitely emerged into ecclesiastical status and which practically recognize one another as being Protestant.

Outline of Method

The discovery of types of churches is so preëminently a question of method that this phase of the subject has necessarily been expanded and constitutes the bulk of the material in Part I (Chapters I-IV).

The types were determined and classified on the basis of thirty-three items⁸ of information regarding function derived from the schedules. Information had been secured for the entire 1,044 churches on thirty-five other items⁹ concerning general church life and work; and on twelve additional items from 853 churches. The next major problem of method was to determine whether the churches previously grouped as types on the basis of part of the data would show similar and confirmatory characteristics and trends from the standpoint of these further units of information. Answers to these questions served as a check upon the basic method of classification.

⁸ See p. 56.

⁹ See pp. 208 f.

Other Phases of Method

This phase of the methodology falls into three stages: First, the types and subtypes were described in terms of the additional items of information, and their inner similarities and differences were noted and measured.

THE MODAL SUBTYPE

For example, the group that was found to contain the greatest number of churches showed the following characteristics:

A unit of this group is most frequently a church of from one to two hundred members; of American rather than of foreign antecedents; but if foreign, Northern European rather than Southern or Eastern.

It is a one-man enterprise. Eighty-two per cent. of the pastors have a conservative college and seminary education. They represent all ranges of experience. They usually stay less than five years and receive salaries of between \$1,000 and \$2,000.

The median amount of operating cost of such a church is about \$5,000, but the largest number cost less than \$3,000 for operation. Benevolence in this kind of church amounts to ten dollars per capita. Its Sunday school equals in size about three-fourths of its membership and usually has an average attendance of 150, predominantly of children. Judged by the sample, it is the representative Protestant church of the larger American city.¹⁰

It occurs more frequently in the South or East than in the less conservative Middle West or West. It is most characteristic of the very small denominations or of the southern denominations or of the Lutherans.

The characteristics of each type were drawn out in detail with reference to all the items under consideration, with results which appear in Chapters V-X. The exact difference between subtypes within each type is statistically measured in Appendix Tables 5-39 and the average church's characteristics are summarized in Chapter X.

THE PHASE OF COMPARISON

The second stage was to compare type with type and with all churches, item by item, with the results that appear in Chapter XI. On twenty-one out of the thirty-five items of general information, a direct and consistent quantitative increase appears throughout the successive types, corresponding to the enlargement of service program. This is true also of each of the twelve supplementary activities recorded for 853 churches.

On eight of the thirty-five items no direct correspondence of quantitative change is found to accompany increasing complexity of church program; but these cases are in large measure self-explana-

¹⁰ For a sample case, see p. 117.

tory and prove the rule rather than the exception. All told, the consistency of tendency which runs through the succession of types as determined by character of program also reveals itself in most of the related aspects of church life when quantitatively measured. The general statistical results are thus thoroughly congruent with the statistical analysis by which the types were discovered.

METHODS OF HANDLING ENVIRONMENTAL DATA

The final stage in technical method related the environmental data¹¹ to the classification of churches by types. The process was: (1) to calculate what per cent. of the churches of a given type were located in central or residential environments. (2) In the case of those centrally located to determine (a) what degree of importance had the center to which they were tributary? (b) how strategic was their location with respect to their non-local constituents? and, (c) what was the social quality of the immediate environment? (3) For churches in a residential environment to determine the per cent. of each type located in environments of a given social quality. The results of this study appear in detail in Chapter XII.

Little correlation was found between type and environment. The modal subtype B II, for example, is environmentally ubiquitous, occurring about two-fifths of the time in a down-town location and three-fifths of the time in residential areas. While there is a definite tendency for central location and more than average development of program to go together, it is rather slight. *On the whole* all of the types occur in all environments, and none is so characteristic of a given immediate environment as to justify one in using immediate environment as the major clew to its interpretation. This will be interpreted as showing how generally the principle of accessibility has triumphed over that of proximity in the structure of cities and the relations of their institutions to constituencies.

The other aspect of the environmental data, namely, that concerning the distribution of the homes of the members by distance and direction with respect to the church building, involved the setting up of statistical intervals determining what would be defined in terms of distance as "compact," "medium" and "scattered" parishes; and in terms of direction as "balanced," "unbalanced" and "very unbalanced" parishes. Forty-five per cent. of the churches studied were found to have "compact" parishes, in that 75 per cent. or more of the members of these churches lived within one mile of the church building. About one-third of all churches, however, had parishes

¹¹ See pp. 248 f.

which were "unbalanced" to a greater or less extent, some of them having less than 9 per cent. and others more than 43 per cent. of their membership living in one of the four quadrants. The detailed results of this study also appear in Chapter XII.

Studied type by type, these parish characteristics were found to bear no direct relation to the increasing complexity of church program registered by the successive types. They did, however, show important relations to the size of the city in which the church was located.

As a final step in method, the relations between the whole group of larger environmental factors and the several types of churches were systematically studied. The trends of a given type toward a given size of city, or section of the country, or toward a given denomination or type of denomination, or toward constituencies of a given nationality, were systematically measured, with results appearing in Chapter XIII.

USE OF HYPOTHESES

The facts as discovered having been set against the general background of American religious history and of the present rural church, a group of hypotheses was arrived at which, to the author's mind, afforded the major explanation of the facts. These hypotheses are used as explanatory clues in Part II of the book in sections alternating with factual findings. The transition from a body of facts to their hypothetical explanation is clearly indicated in each context and should be kept in mind throughout the reading of the book.

Limitations and Values of the Study

The book has already introduced itself as a venture in pioneer exploration. In salvaging and utilizing much previously existing material, it increased the number of its cases but narrowed the content of its data, giving to that content a certain unevenness of texture. The method of classifying churches did not prove to have allowed statistically for all necessary factors,¹² and the supporting case studies were not intensively enough made to illuminate all the problems raised by the data.

Consequently the book will need supplementing by later studies as well as by criticism from the standpoint of other hypotheses.

In spite of these limitations the study has somewhat unusual values in the minds of those who made it. Among them are the following:

¹² See p. 72.

(1) The study presents a more complete statistical generalization than has ever been made for the city church. Up to this time the only similar data for large cities, professing to be nation-wide, were to be found in the United States Census of Religious Bodies, from which could be obtained a limited generalization by means of mathematical averages. Such averages, however, gave a seriously misleading impression because inflated through the influence of a relatively few extremely large churches. Until this present study, therefore, it was not known how small an enterprise the representative city church of the recognized denominations really was, measured by plant and budget; nor how narrow was the range of institutional development covered by the majority of such churches.

In the number of items on which it secured information the present generalization goes into fields not previously occupied by church statistics, and the outcome presents certain striking revelations. That there are now more other paid workers in city churches as a group than there are pastors; that women constitute one-third of the total of these paid workers, and that elderly ministers are utilized in considerable numbers to a point well beyond the traditional deadline, are examples of new and challenging discoveries. The information concerning equipment and frequency of specific elements in church programs as well as the environmental data are also believed to be new.

It is hoped that the generalized evidence concerning "the city church," now made available, will serve as a dependable point of departure for those who wish to study the city churches of a single denomination, or groups of churches comparatively, by denominations; or to consider the churches of a single city or group of cities. It has already had such use in the interpretation of the survey of Springfield, Mass., made under the same auspices as this study.

Specifically, those who had hoped to use the city church surveys of the Interchurch World Movement along the lines on which those surveys were projected, will find satisfaction in seeing a considerable part of their expected values salvaged by this study.

(2) As already indicated¹³ those who originally advised upon the method of this study believed that there existed a valid classification of city churches according to environment. This view is shown to be mistaken. Not all or any considerable fraction of the churches "located" in any given environment are alike, and no sufficient grounds can be found for classifying them by environment. Frequently the environment of a church's physical plant has no relation to its functional purposes. A church is located far more

¹³ See p. vi.

by the homes and places of work of its people than by the position of its plant. Its purposes have often little connection with the immediate environment of its building, and there is no objective evidence that all kinds of churches should invariably or even ordinarily "adapt" themselves to environment so defined.¹⁴

(3) The methodology here employed is believed to yield a valid and significant classification of churches arrived at originally on statistical grounds. The resemblances and differences on the basis of which the churches are grouped as like and unlike are objective. They exist in the facts themselves and not merely in the analytical judgment. They are measurable in terms of frequency of occurrence. They are built upon the observation of unit characteristics—the discreet organizations and activities which go to make up modern church life and work—and not upon items grouped in logical classifications. In these aspects the types are scientifically determined, described and compared.

(4) From the scientific determination of types, the study goes on to demonstrate a consistent trend running from type to type and including the vast majority of American city churches.¹⁵ This opens the way to the discernment of a dominant evolutionary tendency and an understanding of the actual course of the process of urban church development.

(5) The series of descriptions of churches included in the text as illustrating various types, subtypes and experiences or situations in which types or subtypes have been found to arise, should prove valuable as a true cross-section of the American city church. It is not a collection of distinguished or especially successful churches. The reader will probably look in vain for the most outstanding and influential enterprises of his denomination—those which he probably fancies are "representative." What he will find is the story of churches that are like many other churches, that is to say, churches which really represent the varied types that exist in the American city. Whether of great or of relatively little importance, they are examples that tell the truth about the urban church—something that examples do not always do. The descriptions are primarily intended to be read as footnotes to the text, but if read consecutively, as clinical material for independent study, they should give a fairly complete and proportionate view of the range and variety of church enterprises ministering to concentrated populations in the United States.¹⁶

(6) Though incomplete in method and inadequate in amount,

¹⁴ For full discussion of this point, see pp. 260 f.

¹⁵ See pp. 208 f.

¹⁶ For list of illustrative cases for use in consecutive reading, see Contents.

the environmental data and their discussion uncover phenomena susceptible to treatment along the lines begun, and offer inducement to further study. The preliminary interpretation of the present book will, it is believed, have helped to clarify the meaning both of immediate environment and of the geographical factors determining church life that cannot be defined in terms of immediate environment.

(7) The author's interpretations of this or that detail will doubtless vary in value from item to item. They constitute first efforts at explanation for a highly important body of new data. They merely open the discussion.

(8) The provisional use of statistically discovered trends as norms for current judgment and future control of church life and work constitutes the final value of the study. By these norms specified areas of the city church field may easily be re-surveyed. They do not define the good or the bad in the absolute sense, but only the more or less—and thus the relatively better or worse—with respect to what is actually most frequent or most characteristic. By their use any pastor or layman may define and appraise his church in precise terms, with reference to the whole range of urban church development.

When such a one has located his church he may read off quite exactly the characteristic items of program, agencies and facilities which go with its position and note which of them his church has or has not. If he wants his church to develop to the full within the limits of its present type, he will know what is involved. If he wants it to expand into a different and more complex type, he can measure the cost in men, facilities and current budget. If unfortunately he has to conduct the backward steps of the waning church, he will understand how to retreat in good order. There is nothing holy about an inch or a foot. They are simply conventional units of measurement and as such are highly standardized and safeguarded. Neither is there anything holy about statistical types and subtypes. They merely help churches to find themselves and to measure their progress in terms of and partially by means of known and definable characters toward ineffable and imponderable values which transcend and escape definition.

Significance of the Study for Church Administration

The study addresses itself first of all to some of the problems of the group of church administrators at whose suggestion and for whose sake it was initially undertaken. In the guidance of city church policies and affairs, they have hitherto had to act upon ex-

perience and upon current generalizations, which were little more than guesses, as to the basic tendencies operating in the field. Certain averages had been discovered, based, however, on the indiscriminate grouping together of all city institutions called churches without regard to their inner differences. Only to a slight extent could the underlying trends be formulated, and no means of measuring them were at hand. The present study creates new, though only tentative, norms for the use of church administrators.

With this use of the study as an aid to practical church administration in mind, it may be worth while to indicate in some detail the kinds of persons for whom it should have value.

THE THEOLOGICAL STUDENT

The theological student no longer prepares for the ministry in general. Specialization in all professions is the modern note, and the prospective minister is likely to have some idea of the type of ministry in which he hopes to serve. Hitherto he has had little chance really to appreciate the urban church problem. The range of possibilities and the actual preponderance of prospects had not been formulated. He rarely guessed and was never told how small an affair the average city church is. Its variations and their reasons, its course of evolution and consequent limitations, were not clearly analyzed. Even in so narrow a realm as that of his vocational prospects, the theological student had no certain means of knowing what was before him. The relative numbers of workers in the several types of specialization, their functions, the types of churches which call for such workers to perform such functions, the varied preparation demanded, and the remuneration to be expected, were none of them precisely stated. From the present study the prospective minister should gain an idea as to the range of possibilities offered by the modern city church.

THE THEOLOGICAL PROFESSOR

The increased proportion of the theological curriculum given to practical theology and the multiplication of courses in this department are among the outstanding marks of modern theological training.¹⁷ There are, however, few courses in city church administration, and still fewer based upon actual surveys and case studies of a sufficient number of samples to make possible the discernment of representative types. Such courses have been based mainly upon the professor's recollection of the pastorate as it was years ago,

¹⁷ Kelly, *Theological Education in America* (Institute of Social and Religious Research), pp. 84 f.

and with this has gone an almost certain over-emphasis upon the striking and successful, but non-representative, church. The theological seminary has had available little precise knowledge of the relative proportions in which phenomena existed even in the field for which it was attempting to give vocational preparation. Its large experience enabled it to tell some of the things which would be found there, but it had never made a count of how often they would be found, or determined which were numerically preponderant. If this study does nothing else, it is hoped that it may constitute a point of departure for a more critical and successful account of the city church problem as part of the material for educating its future leaders.

THE PASTOR

The active pastor is the man on the firing line of actual church experience. If he does not understand the city church in the vital aspects of its life no one can explain it to him. If he cannot direct it effectively no one else can. A sincere, spontaneous interest in his work, the zest of the job and its problems, ambition and the spur of competition, often combine to give him a keen and shrewd practical sense of the standing of his church in relation to others and an appreciation of actual differences. This is a beginning of the recognition of church types. But the scientific categories for thinking the matter through have not been available, and the pastor could not know enough churches accurately enough to compare one with another or to discern the trends which they express.

The results of this study may serve as a tool to the intellectual, alert minister who wants to do straight thinking and to make his work clear-cut and decisive rather than imitative. Any type of church is commendable in its place. By use of the methods outlined in the following pages the pastor can first locate his church in the evolutionary series and then compare it with the provisional norms. His church is not beyond the authority of the "divine average." A margin of opportunity for improvements is open to it in its present status, as is true for all churches. This margin being faithfully attempted, he is called upon to make honest and responsible decisions with respect to the next step. The destinies of the church are fixed by a series of such steps. Nothing that the minister does in his entire professional lifetime is of such strategic importance.

MINOR SUPERVISORY OFFICERS

The active advisor of the local churches and the man who has frequent face to face relations with them is the superintendent or

local secretary of the various denominations. He is also the representative of the ecclesiastical boards and agencies of the denominations at large, and the one who most influences their decisions in local issues. It is hoped that the present study will illuminate the job of this key man, helping him to see what types of churches are actually present in the field for which he has the supervision and enabling him to make up his mind as to what types ought to exist and in what proportion. If a large number of such minor officials would actually undertake to use the analysis of this book as provisional norms, they would soon be able to work out a more precise technical procedure and method of evaluation and control than was ever before available to the church. Recommendations for appropriations and improvement of property, as well as the choice of ministers for particular types of churches, and determination of church locations, removal and progress, would all be immensely improved by a clear understanding of what actually exists in the city church field.

DENOMINATIONAL STATESMANSHIP

The ultimate thinking for the denominations is actually done by a relatively small number of executives and the committees, commissions or boards which they represent. These strategists of American Christianity have spent many hours of labor and risked many utterances upon the city church problem. It is a rather striking fact, however, that the literary output up to date is very inconspicuous compared with the importance of the field and with the exceedingly large number of crucial decisions which it involves. The list of titles even purporting to deal with the city church at large is very brief, and until the efforts of the Interchurch World Movement no conspicuous and far-reaching effort to get at the scientific roots of the matter had ever been made.¹⁸ Occasional and fugitive surveys of individual churches or parishes were sometimes sound in method, but did not cover anything like the total area of the field and had never been gathered into a single result. There is no intention here to disparage the experience and thinking of the past. The present study is itself the product of that thinking and simply attempts to go one step further in a field of which the greater part still remains scientifically unexplored.

¹⁸ For example, Mode, *A Source Book of American Church History* (1920) cites no article on the city church later than 1895 and no book except Josiah Strong's *The Twentieth Century City* (undated) and Bishop Leete's *The Church in the City* (1915).

CHURCH FEDERATION LEADERS

One of the central features of the Federation movement is the attempt to secure comity between the coöperating denominations in the establishment and maintenance of churches. A common strategy is sought in contrast with the competitions and rivalries too often characteristic of the past. The discrimination of types of churches and the implied challenge as to their normal distribution in a city should be one of the main interests of such officials and committees as have comity problems in charge. Within a given territory, two churches which are not in the least alike do not present at all the same problem as two churches which are very much alike. There have been hitherto no categories in which to conceive and no language in which to express the difference between churches as a ground for judging whether or not they are rendering equivalent service, or whether one is fairly a substitute for or a rival of another. It is hoped that the present study may make a practical contribution to this problem of church comity.

THE SOCIOLOGIST

Though the influence of the practical sociologist upon church administration may be small, nevertheless the judgments and insights of those who include the church among the permanent and significant institutions of human society are gradually getting a hearing in religious circles, and their verdicts are in turn strengthening the church in its contacts and adjustments with the other institutions of the city. Social workers inclined to ignore the church or to criticize it harshly may find a corrective in this exposition of its evolution. Its limitations, as well as its normal tendencies, are revealed. The church has come to be what it is by a long process and cannot lightly or hurriedly turn itself into something else. Nevertheless the processes of social adaptation are well under way and the number and variety of original and promising experiments cannot escape recognition.

THE HARD-HEADED LAYMAN

Finally, it is hoped that even so technical a discussion of the city church may not altogether escape the attention of the more thoughtful and discriminating of its lay supporters. Men who are called upon to supply financial resources and to follow the recommendations of their experts in practical decisions may be aided in independent judgment if they take the time to trace in detail the

evidence concerning the city church presented in this book. It is not a promotional document and does not hold that all churches in all places are important or even desirable. What it seeks to do is to put a broad foundation of ascertained fact under the total work of urban Christianity as ecclesiastically organized. It explains and partly extenuates that which seems weakest and least creditable. It demonstrates and on the whole defends what is the church's characteristic and average urban expression, even though it be not very conspicuous or commanding. It interprets the more highly developed forms of city church life, but without urging that they should be adopted wholesale or suddenly, without discrimination as to time or place, or without regard to other forms of religious organization and to the total constructive forces of the city's life. It is felt that on the basis of this study the ordinary churchman can take a sane and not unduly discouraged view of the urban church problem. At any rate, since the forces of control are actually operative, attempting to make the city church what they think it ought to be, it is well to understand what it already is and in some measure why it is, in order that such influence on the future as is possible shall be wise as well as courageous.

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PART I

SUMMARY OF METHOD, RESULTS AND
CONCLUSIONS

Chapter I

THE PROBLEM OF CLASSIFYING CHURCHES

Since the discovery of types of churches is essentially a study in classification, the discussion begins with this problem.

First of all, within a total of 1,071 religious organizations for which schedules had been secured, the churches and the non-churches had to be sorted out.

The count proved that there were 1,044 churches and twenty-seven non-churches.

Churches and Non-Churches

Why did the mixture of ecclesiastical sheep and goats occur? How did non-churches happen to get in with the churches in the first place? The answer is that the field investigators were sent out without a predetermined definition of a church. They felt that the samples collected were either churches or such close kindred that the actual religious situation in a city would not be clearly understood without some attention to them. The various collections of Interchurch schedules, the files in Church Federation offices, the "Miscellaneous" lists under the heading "Churches" in city directories, as well as the church advertisements in the Saturday newspapers, all regularly yielded examples of a marginal field of near-churches not all of which could finally be classified as churches in the strict sense.

In Pittsburgh, for example, if one stands in front of the Carnegie Library, in the northern section, which was once the separate city of Allegheny, one can see within a few blocks a great concentration of churches of all manner of denominations. Most of them are churches beyond all question. Among them, however, is a church of the Christian and Missionary Alliance which started out as a non-church and evolved into full denominational status within a decade. A bulletin board in front of the Library announces a lecture of the International Bible Students. Does this group of people, related as it is to similar groups throughout the country, constitute a church? In an old and narrow two-story dwelling crowded between business structures there are two announcements, one that furnished rooms are available for "good, clean people," and the other that the "Brotherhood of Applied Christianity meets here."

Is this Brotherhood of clean people a church? The largest of all Allegheny churches owns and has physically attached to it a magnificent community house. Its support, however, is independent of the church's budget, and it is not administered as an integral part of the church work. Is this settlement house part of a church or a separate institution—a non-church just as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations are non-churches?

What Is a Church?

The units of religious organization in American cities show the interesting variety thus illustrated. Their relationships are relatively complex. Just what then is a church? For the purposes of this study an answer has been adopted, originating, it is to be noted, not in theological definition, but through an actual handling of more than a thousand working models of organizations that call themselves churches. It summarizes the characters that fall under their own self-designations. If they had claimed something else as constituting the "church," then the definition would have been different. It stands merely as a record of agreement in practice at the following points:

(1) A church is a definable group of Christian people. It has a membership list in most cases, and at least some sort of mark of relatively permanent adherence. Mere occasional groups of believers do not call themselves churches. Continuing associates in religion define the fact of their association in some recognizable way.

(2) A church is a fellowship for religious worship and instruction—the latter invariably taking the form of preaching and generally also of organized Sunday-school work. If the study had found definite associations of Christians permanently omitting worship and preaching and limiting themselves to some other parts of the collective church program, yet calling themselves churches, it would have modified its definition so as not to require these limitations. But no such case has been met. Christians who want to work together, but who do not wish to worship together, simply do not call themselves churches.¹ They merely associate themselves under some of the numerous other forms of non-church religious organization. Worship and preaching, then, are invariable features in the 1,044 churches studied.

(3) A church is usually a complete cross-section of humanity with respect to its age-groups and sex-groups. It includes men and women, old and young. This is a magnificent general characteristic.

¹ In rare cases the name church was found surviving for a period in an institution which had discontinued stated worship and preaching. But the tendency in such cases to drop the name church is so strong as to prove the rule. See p. 125.

It is omitted sometimes in the case of exceptional populations such as age-groups or sex-groups segregated in schools, or in charitable and penal institutions. There may be churches of students all of a given age, or of penitentiary convicts all of a given sex. The usual way of ministering to such populations, however, is through a chaplaincy and not through a full church organization; and the 1,044 samples happen not to have included any such exceptional case.

(4) A church usually stands in recognized relationship with a body of churches like it in faith and government, called a denomination. This is not to deny church status to single groups of religious people that claim to be churches and that have the other characteristics of the class. Religious organizations that rise in opposition to established denominations are as truly churches in the logical sense as the most venerable examples. In point of fact all the non-denominational churches met with during the study had actual relationships—such as membership in organized groups of similar churches—that established the rule.

By the four characteristics above enumerated the 1,044 churches were separated from the twenty-seven non-churches included in the collected schedules.

Relations of Churches and Non-Churches

The process of separating the data not only excluded all organizations not strictly churches from statistical comparison and consideration, but compelled an analysis of the relations of churches and non-churches which had profound influence upon the method of the study.

Clearing the field and arranging the churches and non-churches in their respective positions resulted in four different classes of non-churches being discovered.

NOT-YET CHURCHES

Some of the non-churches are clearly churches in purpose and prospect. Such are the familiar mission Sunday schools and branch organizations. It is in such beginnings that the full-grown churches have generally originated. They are related to the churches as a tadpole is to the frog. One cannot yet call them churches, but they are churches in the making. Their disability is supposedly temporary. They are pre-churches.

Within this group, however, some will be found whose prospect of reaching church estate is not very good. They are composed

of people too feeble, ignorant or unstable to have much prospect of arriving, institutionally speaking. Their religious group-life is on a lower level of stability than is required by a true church. Such is the case of the rescue mission made up of representatives of the transient and intermittent class, both physically and morally. One may call these sub-churches. These never-to-be churches belong with the pre-churches by position though not by practical prospect.

NO-LONGER CHURCHES

A small group of non-churches must be placed at or beyond the farther limit of the church field. Such are the community centers specializing in social service but retaining conventional church organization and activities. Ninety per cent. of the service of the Wesley Neighborhood House in St. Louis, for example, is in fields rarely occupied by a church and only 10 per cent. falls within the ordinary range of church activities. It would be easy to drop entirely the church program and to operate merely a Christian settlement, as has been done in certain cases.

A good example is Furman House, built upon the foundations of the Ewing Street Congregational Church in Chicago. Here social and community work have been grafted on to historic church organization and have evolved into independence as changed conditions of population have caused the old church to dwindle and die. This is a no-longer church.

All institutions of this group which still call themselves churches and have activities on both sides of the line must be classified as churches. They have, however, more in common with the above type of non-churches, which are simply the churches of yesterday that have passed on into a more specialized class.²

NEVER-WERE CHURCHES

A great majority, however, of non-churches lie neither before nor beyond, but beside the broad field which the church occupies. They never have been churches and in the majority of cases probably never will be. One thinks first of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations in this connection; then of hospitals, orphanages, old people's homes and kindred philanthropies. These constitute a very important aspect of Protestant religious service, one of immense proportion and cost. Such organizations are clearly not churches, but their historic and present relations to the churches are well known and often confessed, and their range covers the entire breadth of the field of church activities.

² For sample programs of churches and settlements showing these affinities, see p. 172.

NOT-MERELY CHURCHES

On the opposite side of the church field from the parallel not-churches just described, lies another non-church group smaller in number, but very similar in range. These are unit-institutions, companion to the churches and attached to individual churches, but so separate in function and generally in location and administration as to require separate recognition.

Thus, the First and Westminster Presbyterian churches of Buffalo maintain settlement houses, as Plymouth Congregational church of Minneapolis did for many years. A church in Kansas City has its own children's home and Westminster Presbyterian church of Minneapolis its own hospital. Many Lutheran churches maintain individual old people's homes for their members. Branch churches are the traditional forms of this dual institutionalism, and kindergartens, clubs and fresh-air homes its minor phases.

While there is great difference in the degree and method of actual contact between the two parts of such related institutions, the part which is not merely a church (though under the auspices and administrative control of a single congregation) clearly adds a unique and distinctive aspect to the field of religious organization. Here is something which extends beyond the ordinary field of the church as a unit-organization and includes functions which are ordinarily performed by separate institutions, frequently supported by denominations.³

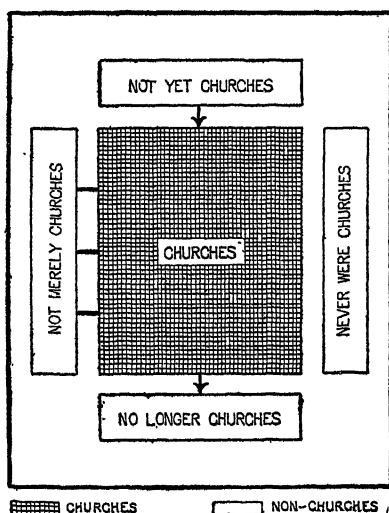
The diagram on page 46 summarizes the story of the field of religious organization as divided between churches and not-churches. It shows the pre-churches logically coming before the churches, the post-churches following them and the parallel institutions attached or unattached flanking them on either side.

How to Classify Churches?

Now a very striking difference appears between churches and non-churches in that the latter include a large number of kinds of institutions whose differences are not merely obvious but are separately labeled. The former are all covered by the common name "churches." It is very possible that important differences are thus concealed. As suggested by the names, a hospital is clearly different from a Young Men's Christian Association. If, however, one church differed from another as much as a hospital differs from a Young Men's Christian Association, both would still be called by

³ One of the shortcomings of the present study was its inability to deal statistically in any adequate fashion with these dual institutions and their inter-relationships. The importance of inquiries in this direction was foreseen neither by the Interchurch World Movement schedules nor by those subsequently provided.

the same name and no easy means would be at hand to distinguish them.



THE FIELD OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION
Relation of Churches and Other Agencies.

WIDE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHURCHES

The fact that churches differ but that their designations do not tell how much or in what respects they differ, provides the central problem of the present study. From its inception it was committed to the attempt to discover whether there were fundamental distinctions between churches and to define the resulting types if precise ground of distinction existed. It assured itself, therefore, first of all that there were such grounds of distinction.

This was accomplished in simple fashion merely by counting the number of organizations and activities, within a list of thirty-three items, reported by 362 churches in cities in which a large proportion of the total number of churches had been covered by the study. The results appear in Table I.

It was noted that the most frequent number of activities was six or seven and that two-thirds of these churches had not more than eight. One-fourth, in turn, had four or less activities, while only about 10 per cent. had thirteen or more. It was obvious that with such extreme variations churches were far from being alike.

TABLE I—DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES IN 362 CITY CHURCHES

<i>No. of Organizations and Activities</i>	<i>Distribution of Churches</i>		
	<i>Number</i>		<i>Per Cent.</i>
1	7	91	25.0
2	17		
3	31		
4	36		
5	32	156	42.8
6	43		
7	52		
8	29		
9	31	82	22.7
10	25		
11	14		
12	12		
13	13	27	7.9
14	8		
15	4		
16	2		
17	3	4	1.1
18	0		
19	1		
20	0		
21	0	2	0.5
22	2		
Total	362	362	100.0

THE SEARCH FOR AN INTERPRETATIVE PRINCIPLE

Mere counting of organizations and activities without considering their functions was not, however, a satisfactory basis of classification, since it gave no suggestion as to how or wherein they differed. A more adequate means of measuring was therefore sought, one which should suggest a reason for the facts as well as the bare facts of difference.

In this search certain obvious clues were followed. Since the needs of different city neighborhoods and populations differ, it was assumed that churches would perhaps have come to differ in the process of adapting themselves to the service of these needs; but how far this might be true and what results it might have wrought no one knew.

THE FIRST CLEW

The present study got its first reliable clew from the process by which the churches were separated from the non-churches met in field investigation. That separation had been reached by excluding organizations below the minimum of what a religious organization could be and do and remain a church. No clear light was thrown on the question how much more than this minimum a church could be and do and still remain a church. Superficially examined the range of variations appeared to be very large. Thus, while virtually all churches had Sunday schools, less than half had boys' organizations and not one in twenty had a day nursery or clinic. Churches differed enormously in the number of paid workers, the plant and equipment with which they worked, and the cost of operation relative to the church membership. These variations were so wide as to suggest that one was probably dealing with diverse institutions having different sets of functions and not merely with one institution exercising more or less of the same functions. It was quite possible to imagine that the churches at the extreme edge of the ecclesiastical field might more closely resemble some of their cousins, the non-churches just over the fence, than they resembled their sister churches at the other extreme.

These considerations impelled the study to seek some clew to the classification of churches which should arise out of the data themselves and prove more profound and practically useful than any previously known.

THE FINAL SOLUTION

The solution of the problem of classification was found in the discovery that there were systematic relations between the churches and the parallel non-churches with respect to their functions. Examples suggesting the range and variety of the non-church group were first classified under conventional categories expressing major function or emphasis, with results shown in the following arrangement:

<i>Major Functions</i>	<i>Corresponding Non-Church Religious Organizations</i>
Worship and Evangelism	Gospel centers
Religious Instruction	Independent Bible Study organizations
Social Life	The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.
Recreation	Boy and Girl Scouts
General Social Service	Social Settlements and Neighborhood Centers
Specialized and Technical Social Service	Clinics, employment offices, day nurseries, hospitals, children's homes, old people's homes, etc.

Now, the 1,071 schedules showed cases of non-churches performing all the major functions ever performed by churches and of churches performing all of the functions performed by any of the non-churches; also of churches stopping at all points on the list. Some had worship and evangelism, but no Sunday school. Some added a Sunday school, but made no provision for social life—and so on.

For example, parallel with the religious worship and evangelism common to the many churches of the city of Rochester, N. Y., there was discovered a Gospel Center continuously carrying on services of worship and evangelism. This organization declined to have a permanent or formally recognized membership, or to admit that it was a church. It definitely desired to affect all recognized religious bodies equally by "boring from within" in behalf of ultra-evangelical aspects of faith, yet without itself becoming institutionalized.

Parallel with the Sunday school and the religious education activities of the church, inter-denominational Bible schools or Bible Students' organizations were frequently found not under church auspices.

It was obvious that the whole range of organization of age-, and sex-groups as expressed in the churches' young people's meetings and women's societies was parallel to the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations with their senior and junior departments. The religious, cultural, recreational, educational and physical ministries which the more modern church program admits have been still more completely worked out in a group of familiar institutions which are permanent non-churches.

Certain churches in especially needy environments were found to include in their programs of service such activities as clinics, visiting nurses, employment offices, day nurseries and other child welfare agencies. As was previously noted, the usual thing has been for a church or churches which want to serve humanity in these ways, to contribute money and found a separate institution—a hospital, children's or old people's home, nursery or similar form of non-church. Yet virtually every phase of their work was included by some church somewhere in connection with a strictly ecclesiastical organization and program.

Theoretically, then, there is a complete set of options before any group of religious people who want to perform any function or group of functions or services in the name of their faith; namely, to do them through a church or through a non-church organization; for virtually all functions performed by either class are performed now by the one, now by the other.

THE DISCOVERY GENERALIZED

Obviously, however, these functions divide into (1) things usually left to the church; (2) things usually performed through non-church agencies; and (3) things performed by either one with about equal frequency.

Thus the permanent conduct of worship and preaching by a non-church group is rare. Such things are usually left to the church and custom makes people who want to foster them organize themselves into churches.

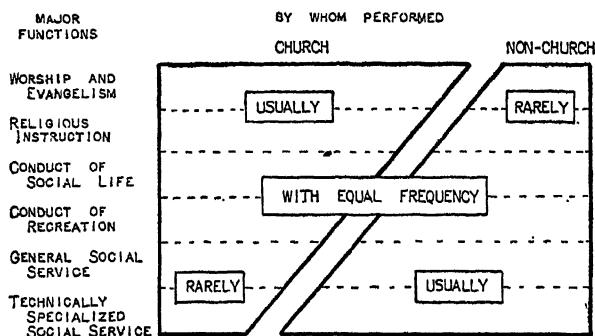


CHART II

Division of Functions Between Churches and Non-Churches.

Again, a certain amount of provision for the general social life of its members is commonly undertaken by the city church through women's and young people's societies; but the organization of special age-, and sex-groups for specialized group-programs is still generally left to such agencies as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

Finally, though in rare instances individual churches maintain settlements, hospitals, children's or old people's homes, such services are usually performed by special institutions often maintained by groups of churches or denominations but not organically attached to the individual church. So far a rough observation of the phenomena carries one; if worship is the object of religious people they *may* achieve it through a non-church agency, but a thousand chances to one they will take a church. If hospital treatment is the object, they *may* take a church to perform it, but a thousand chances to one they will take a hospital. If general social life is sought, the city church will generally think itself adequate, but if specialized age-,

and sex-differentiation in social and recreational development is sought, it is more likely to call in a specializing agency or to let the matter go.

The frequencies of the actual decisions of religious groups in exercising their choice between churches and non-churches in the performance of functions attempted by either are suggested by the diagram on the preceding page.

Chapter II

A METHOD OF STATISTICAL CLASSIFICATION

Even on the basis of the crude preliminary analysis of the previous chapter, it is clear that any church might have been classified in terms of the frequency or infrequency of its functional activities. The minuteness of classification might have been indefinitely increased. Any church might theoretically be made to fall within some one of the following classes:

(1) Churches which do less than nearly all churches do; namely, carry on worship and evangelism but omit religious instruction; or, more specifically, which have no Sunday school—as is actually true of a considerable fraction of city churches.

(2) Churches which do what nearly all churches do, but no more; namely, confine themselves to worship, evangelism and conventional religious instruction.

(3) Churches which do what most but not all churches do; namely, give some systematic attention to the general social life of their members, but within conventional lines.

(4) Churches which in addition to all this, add subsidiary organizations for the conduct of social life and recreation on the basis of age-, and sex-specialization.

(5) Churches which go on where few churches go; namely, into the field of social service.

(6) Churches which go to the very unusual extreme of performing some highly technical and specialized social service function while still calling themselves churches and retaining their basic ecclesiastical interests.

The above would have given a classification of churches into six types provided their resemblances and differences could be formulated in precise and measurable terms.

The Approach to Statistical Classification

ANALYTICAL CLASSIFICATION SCIENTIFICALLY INADEQUATE

The method of analytical classification in the proposed form could not meet the provisos just stated. It falls short of the scientific requirements of technical procedure for the following reasons:

(1) The categories it employs are too loose and general. "General social life," "field of social service," etc., and such ready-made categories as were previously employed for purposes of exposition, may suggest the direction in which the understanding is to move,

but they make only a very inaccurate approach to it. One must find more precise terms in which to talk about and compare churches.

(2) It assumes as a matter of common knowledge that Sunday schools are more frequent as church activities than are playgrounds or day nurseries; but it has not counted the actual frequency of either. To be scientific, one must know just what degrees of frequency lie behind such terms as "usual" and "unusual."

(3) It utilizes but one of the two factors already discerned as expressing the difference between churches; namely, number of activities and frequency of activities. A satisfactory method must base its classification upon both, and must include any other factors which are actually present. Such a method cannot be more simple than the facts with which it is concerned.

HOW 1,044 CHURCHES ACTUALLY WERE CLASSIFIED

The obvious problem was to find means of meeting these requirements. A somewhat complicated method of classification was therefore devised according to which accurate statistical measurements were applied to the 1,044 churches for which schedules were received, with results shown in the table on page 54.

As shown in the first column, the 1,044 churches classify into seventeen classes to each of which is given a statistical designation and which will be called subtypes. The statistical designations refer to factors in the classification process, but for the present may be regarded simply as symbols for groups of churches which differ more or less largely one from another. As shown in the second column, the seventeen subtypes are combined into five major types, whose names attempt to indicate something of their character and relationships. Thus, roughly speaking, the "slightly adapted" churches are the group which do what most city churches do. They are the largest single group within the total sample of 1,044 churches. The "unadapted" do less than most churches do; the "internally adapted" do much more, and the "socially adapted" very much more, reaching specifically into the field of social service. Finally, there are the "widely variant" churches whose programs are heterogeneous compared with those of the great majority of city churches.

Under each of the major types are listed in the second column the subtypes of which it is composed, with descriptions characterizing their relationships to the major types and to one another.

The number and per cent. of the 1,044 churches classifying in each type and subtype are shown in the final columns.

TABLE II—CLASSIFICATION OF 1,044 CITY CHURCHES
BY TYPES AND SUBTYPES

Statistical Designation	Types and Character- istics of Subtypes	Distribution of Churches Number Per Cent.			
		Sub- Types	Types	Sub- Types	Types
	<i>I. Slightly Adapted Churches.</i>		360		34.5
B II	Modal Subtype (Most Frequent)	161		15.4	
B III	Development of Program Toward Novelty	84		8.1	
C I	Development of Program Toward Conventionality	115		11.0	
	<i>II. Unadapted Churches</i>		253		24.2
A I	Smallest, Narrowest Program...	90		8.6	
B I	Small, Narrow Program	101		9.7	
A II } A III }	Other Unadapted	62		5.9	
	<i>III. Internally Adapted Churches</i>		196		18.8
C II	Narrower Phase of Program ...	116		11.1	
D II	Fuller Phase of Program	80		7.7	
	<i>IV. Socially Adapted Churches</i>		110		10.5
D III	Narrower Phase of Program ...	43		4.1	
E II	Fuller Phase of Program	67		6.4	
	<i>V. Widely Variant Churches..</i>		125		12.0
A IV } A V }		32		3.1	
B IV } C III }	In Direction of Novelty	15 11		1.4 1.0	
D I } E I }		30		2.9	
	In Direction of Conservatism ..	27 10		2.6 1.0	
Total		1,044	1,044	100.0	100.0

DIFFICULTIES OF THE TRANSITION

How this apparently precise and accurately measured classification was derived from the principle crudely discerned through the introductory analysis is a long story. From the scientific standpoint it is the most important step taken in the study and its exact method and validity require careful scrutiny.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

Readers, however, will at this point probably wish to classify themselves into two groups: (1) those who will want immediately to pass on and get the results of the study now that its general ap-

proach has been made clear; and (2) those who want to know first exactly how its basic classification was reached.

The former should omit the remainder of this chapter and the one which follows and continue their reading with chapter iv, returning later to follow the somewhat complicated methodology of classification. The latter should read on and satisfy themselves of the validity of the process before submitting their minds to the consideration of its details.

Statistical Phase of Classification

The study attempted to meet the requirements for precise categories, exact measurements and a method allowing for all significant factors in the following ways:

I. Substitution of Ultimate Units of Program for Loose Generalizations.

The smallest functional unit of church life upon which the schedules furnished information was the specific activity or organization of the church or any of its organically related subsidiaries. The obvious way for a church to broaden or to contract its program was to organize or fail to organize some of the group of recognized subsidiaries whose names somewhat indicated their functions, or to take on or fail to take on some of the current activities of churches.

The schedules furnished information concerning thirty-three such organizations and activities which are listed in the next table. These specific factors of service were substituted for such loose generalizations as "social and recreational life" or "field of social service," exactly as "human nature" is now broken up by the psychologist into a series of unit-characters.

II. Determination of Frequency.

The frequency of occurrence of each of these items was then calculated for 357 churches which were known to have been chosen without bias and to represent an essentially complete cross section of churches in their respective cities.¹

The results of this calculation appear in Table III.²

It is a striking fact that about one-half of the entire list of thirty-three organizations and activities occur in less than 20 per cent. of the churches, while certain others, namely, Sunday school, Ladies' Aid Society or Guild, Women's Missionary Society and

¹ The location of these "cross-sectional" churches by cities appears in Appendix B.

² For reasons for fearing bias in the selection of some part of the 1,044 churches studied, see p. vi. As a matter of fact the frequency of organizations and activities in the 357 "cross-sectional" churches varied but slightly from that found in the total number of churches. For exact comparison and discussion of the variations, see Appendix Table 2 and Chart LXVI.

TABLE III—FREQUENCY OF 33 ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES IN 357 CITY CHURCHES

<i>Order of Frequency</i>	<i>Organizations and Activities</i>	<i>Range of Frequency %</i>
33	Civics and Economics Classes	
32	Dispensary or Clinic	
31	Day Nursery	
30	Dramatic Classes	
29	English Classes	
28	Health Classes	1-10
27	Visiting Nurse	
26	Music Classes	
25	Employment Office	
24	Domestic Science Classes	
23	Kindergarten	
22	Sewing Classes	
21	Gymnasium Classes	
20	Dramatic Club	11-20
19	Young Women's Organization	
18	Mothers' or Parents' Organizations	
17	Girl Scouts or Equivalent	
16	Concerts	
15	Girls' Club (not Scouts)	
14	Library	21-40
13	Lectures	
12	Boys' Club (not Scouts)	
11	Orchestra or Band	
10	Organized Welcome	
9	Mission Study Classes	
8	Boy Scouts	41-60
7	Men's Organization	
6	General Social Events	
5	Chorus Choir	61-80
4	Young People's Society	
3	Women's Missionary Society	81-100
2	Ladies' Aid or Guild	
1	Preaching and Sunday School	

Young People's Society, are common to more than 80 per cent. of all city churches. These are the conventional elements of the Protestant program as contrasted with the exceptional ones which stand at the top of the list. The degree to which any given organization or activity is invariable, usual or exceptional appears from its position in the list. This is not an ideal list; it is simply an existing one representing items which were enumerated both by the Inter-church World Movement schedules and by all the others used in the present study. It was thus the best list available.³

³ For the frequency of occurrence of twelve additional organizations and activities, see p. 229.

THE FREQUENCY LIST USED AS A SCALE

This classification of these thirty-three functional units of church work by frequency of occurrence in 357 churches was used as a preliminary yardstick for measuring the program of any church.⁴

Its use may be conveniently illustrated by the churches of a single city, Springfield, Mass.⁵

To classify a church, one begins by standing its program against the yardstick to see how high it measures. A church, for example, like the First Swedish Methodist in Springfield, reporting only a Sunday school, a ladies' aid and missionary society and a young people's organization, is doing only the most common and usual things which a city church can do. It has the narrowest and most traditional type of program. It falls short of the characteristic development of the American city church as revealed by the sample of 357 churches and also by the 1,044 cases. Indeed, it has more in common with the rural than with the urban type of church organization. Stand this program up against the yardstick and it proves to be a one-story affair.

Again, a church like North Congregational, with one exception, has no activity or organization which is not shared by at least 40 per cent. of the 357 Protestant city churches included in the sample. On the whole it is carrying on a very usual program. The one exception does not constitute a sufficient part of its total program to determine its classification. It is simply expanded a little beyond the program of the Swedish Methodist Church.

There are, as a later chapter will show, probably more churches of this than of any other sort in American cities. It shows traces of urban adaptation. One may call it a two-story church.

Still again, a church like the Park Memorial Baptist shows a program which measures as far as the eighteenth place on the frequency scale. In other words, in some part of its work it is doing what only about 15 per cent. of the 357 sample churches do. Furthermore, a very significant fraction of its program falls within this exceptional range of activity. It has elaborated its program until work exceptional for most city churches is usual and characteristic of it. Its internal organization reflects all-sided interests. One may call it a three-story church.

Two Springfield churches, namely, South Congregational, through its Olivet Community House, and St. John's Congregational (with its institutional activities) are undertaking types of work in the line of social adaptation and service which only 2 or 3 per cent. of the 357 sample churches have attempted. These thus fall in the very exceptional class and may be said to have sky-scraper programs.

Now, to classify all Springfield churches according to likeness and unlikeness, one will simply put the churches with the narrowest and most

⁴ It should be noted that quantitative measurement does not imply evaluation. No presumption of superiority or inferiority attached to either the presence or the absence of any item. Should a church have Boy Scouts, or a Sunday school for that matter, or dances? As scientific process the study has had no judgment. It has simply recorded the frequency with which the total body of churches have or have not any specified activity. This determines statistically how far it is common; how far exceptional; how far rooted in the religious habit of American Christianity and how far sporadic. Religious history, however, is still in the making and the exceptional functions of to-day may be common to-morrow.

⁵ No Springfield church performs all of the functions indicated by the thirty-three items of the frequency scale, but so far as the list of functions is comparable, the order of its items with respect to frequency is almost identical. Those which are rare elsewhere are rare in Springfield; those which are frequent elsewhere are frequent in Springfield.

traditional programs into one pile with the Swedish Methodist, those with programs that show slight urban adaptation into another with North Congregational, and those with elaborated programs into still another with Park Memorial Baptist. This will leave the South and St. John's Congregational churches which constitute the whole of the socially adapted group in Springfield.

FURTHER COMPLICATIONS OF PROCESS

The actual method of classifying the 1,044 churches is necessarily considerably more complicated than the foregoing illustration suggests, primarily for the reason that no single scale is adequate to express the variety of factors involved. Two factors have already

		SCALE OF RANGE OF ACTIVITIES: PER CENT. FREQUENCY				
		61-100% NARROWEST	41-60% NARROW	21-40% MEDIUM	11-20% BROAD	1-10% BROADEST
SCALE OF NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES	1-4 SMALLEST	A I	A II	A III	A IV	A V
	5-8 SMALL		B I	B II	B III	B IV
	9-12 MEDIUM			C I	C II	C III
	13-16 LARGE			D I	D II	D III
	17-20 LARGEST				E I	E II

CHART III

Chart for Classification of Churches

emerged from previous analysis; namely, number and range of functions or activities. This calls for a scale in two dimensions. Such a scale appears in the above chart, which shows the exact process whereby these factors are combined into a single method of classification.

At the top of the chart from left to right are indicated the percentage frequencies with which the thirty-three organizations and stated activities appear on the frequency scale or general yardstick already presented. At the left of the chart from top to bottom is a scale for number of activities from one to twenty divided into groups

of four—twenty being practically the maximum number of activities out of the combined list of thirty-three which were found in any single church.⁶

The 1,044 churches have now to be classified by a method noting the number and range of their organizations and stated activities with reference to the two scales; that is to say, each church must be placed in the proper square indicated by the intersecting lines drawn from the proper point on each. It may assist the reader's imagination to think of the diagram as set on edge and constituting a series of country post-office boxes, with himself as the postmaster with letters to each of the 1,044 churches which have to be distributed according to the method above indicated.

ILLUSTRATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF CHURCHES

In order to show the imaginary postmaster how to sort the letters correctly it will be wise to try a number of sample cases.

Table IV, on page 60, shows the number of activities of five churches and their distribution in terms of the frequency scale.

Number one of our sample churches has four activities and thus comes within the upper row of spaces as defined by the left-hand or number-of-activities scale. Its least frequent activity ranks as item six on the frequency scale and thus comes in the first column to the left as read on the upper or range-of-activities scale on Chart III. This fixes it in the space marked A I, which is the statistical designation given to the churches which fall in this space. Together they constitute Subtype A I with the smallest, narrowest program.

Church number two has seven activities. It, therefore, falls in the second row from the top on the number-of-activities scale. Its least frequent item is nine on the frequency scale. Reading across on the second row from the top and down from the space headed "41-60 per cent. frequency" one locates this church in space B I which serves as the designation of all other churches which fall in the same space. Relative to the total sample, these churches have small-narrow programs.

A similar process locates church number three in the C II space, showing that it has a medium-broad program.

So far the method of classification by scales combining two factors has worked perfectly, as it actually did with a great majority of the 1,044 churches.

⁶ A very few churches (5 per cent. in the sample quoted on p. 62) did have slightly more than twenty activities. These, in accordance with statistical practice, were thrown with the group having from seventeen to twenty activities, in order to get an equal number of intervals on the two scales.

TABLE IV—ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF FIVE CHURCHES

<i>Range of Frequency</i>	<i>Organizations and Activities Ranked by Frequency</i>	<i>Churches</i>				
		<i>No. 1</i>	<i>No. 2</i>	<i>No. 3</i>	<i>No. 4</i>	<i>No. 5*</i>
		<i>Number of Activities</i>				
		4	7	11	6	4
81-100	1. Preaching and Sunday School	x	x	x	x	
	2. Ladies' Aid or Guild	x	x	x	x	x
	3. Women's Missionary Society		x	x	x	
	4. Young People's Society		x	x	x	
61-80	5. Chorus Choir	x		x		
	6. General Social Events	x	x			
41-60	7. Men's Organization		x	x	x	
	8. Boy Scouts			x		
	9. Mission Study Classes		x			
21-40	10. Organized Welcome					
	11. Orchestra or Band				x	
	12. Boys' Club (not Scouts)			x		x
	13. Lectures					
	14. Library					
	15. Girls' Club (not Scouts)			x		
	16. Concerts					
11-20	17. Girl Scouts or Equivalent					x
	18. Mothers' or Parents' Organization					
	19. Young Women's Organization			x		
	20. Dramatic Club			x		
	21. Gymnasium Classes					x
	22. Sewing Classes					
1-10	23. Kindergarten					
	24. Domestic Science Classes					
	25. Employment Office					
	26. Music Classes					
	27. Visiting Nurse					
	28. Health Classes					
	29. English Classes					
	30. Dramatic Classes					
	31. Day Nursery					
	32. Dispensary or Clinic					
	33. Civics and Economics Classes					

* See p. 198 for a discussion of churches of this sort.

A THIRD FACTOR INVOLVED IN CLASSIFICATION

The case of church number four is introduced to show the modification of method occasionally found necessary owing to the presence of a third factor; namely, that of the particular distribution of any given number of activities within a given range. With a total of six activities this church includes Item eleven (Orchestra or Band), a manifest embellishment of church program indulged in by

only 21 to 40 per cent. of the 1,044 churches. The next least frequent item of its program is Item seven (Men's Organization). If its program stopped with this item it would be within the range of activities practiced by more than 40 per cent. of all churches. The question is whether one item out of six which falls within the range of lesser frequency, should be allowed to classify a church, most of whose tendencies are clearly to a more conservative program.

The issue may be made clear by analogy. Suppose a house laps over by a few inches on to its neighbor's lot. We practically ignore this discrepancy and say that it is located upon its own lot. Suppose one puts so little sugar into his tea that he cannot taste it. The tea is not sweetened and we ignore the fact that some sugar was put in. But if a house was halfway over on the wrong lot, or one spoonful of sugar were put into a cup of tea where none was expected, we could not ignore it. It would constitute too much of an invasion of the realm in question. In the matter of churches we are dealing with a working methodology which seeks practical results. Obviously the question is how much of an overlap or invasion characterizes a situation as practically different.

Now, with a church which has but four activities in all, if one falls in an infrequent range it clearly carries the classification of the church. However conservative the rest, if a fourth part of its program is exceptional the church cannot be counted ordinary. But if only one activity out of twenty is exceptional, one would scarcely think of counting that as against the major trend of the church.

The question is where to draw the line methodologically and how to apply the decision uniformly. At this point some arbitrary decision had to be made and the one chosen by the study was as follows:

The average per cent. distribution of items of program between the different spaces on the classificatory diagram (Chart III) was calculated for the churches of each subtype. It was determined that a church should not be classified by the least frequent range of activities of which it included any example unless it entered that range to an average extent. If it failed to do this, it was classified by the preceding space—exactly as a house which laps over onto the wrong lot is identified by the lot on which it is mainly located. Churches with from five to eight activities chose on the average 18 per cent. of the total activities from those having a frequency of from 21 to 40 per cent. (items ten to seventeen). Church number four, with only one item out of six within this range, falls a little short of the average. It was accordingly set back in place and classified as belonging to Subtype B I rather than to Subtype B II.

This correcting of classification was systematically carried out

for all churches requiring it, in accordance with the average incidence of the items of program in the churches of the respective subtypes in each frequency position. For Subtype C I, for example, the average incidence of items in the least frequent range was 36 per cent., for Subtype B II, 28 per cent. Each church was subjected to the test of its own subtype. This added the factor of specific distribution or emphasis of program to those of number and range of activities in the classificatory method.

Results of the Classification

The entire process described was exactly applied to each of the 1,044 churches. Their classification was in effect a sorting of their schedules as though a set of Noah's Ark working models were actually distributed into compartments corresponding to the rectangles shown in Chart III. The result was as follows:

TABLE V—1,044 CITY CHURCHES CLASSIFIED BY SUBTYPES

<i>Sub- type</i>	<i>Number of Activities</i>	<i>Range of Activities</i>	<i>Churches</i>	
			<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
A I	Smallest	Narrowest	90	8.6
A II	Smallest	Narrow	35	3.3
A III	Smallest	Medium	27	2.6
A IV	Smallest	Broad	32	3.1
A V	Smallest	Broadest	15	1.4
B I	Small	Narrow	101	9.7
B II	Small	Medium	161	15.4
B III	Small	Broad	84	8.1
B IV	Small	Broadest	11	1.0
C I	Medium	Medium	115	11.0
C II	Medium	Broad	116	11.1
C III	Medium	Broadest	30	2.9
D I	Large	Medium	27	2.6
D II	Large	Broad	80	7.7
D III	Large	Broadest	43	4.1
E I	Largest	Broad	10	0.9
E II	Largest	Broadest	67	6.4
Total			1,044	100.0

THE SUBTYPES AS STATISTICAL UNITS

The method thus achieved what it set out to do. It derived from the number and frequency of unit-items in church programs a classification of churches by purely statistical methods. The classes could be accurately described in relation to the scales used and to the modifying process introduced to allow for the factor of emphasis. This is shown in the second and third columns of the table. The number of churches in each class and the per cent. distribution of all

churches among the seventeen classes show considerable inequality, a fact which furnishes initial clews to interpretation.

The seventeen classes are the actual working units of the investigation. To be sure, they are combined with larger groupings and come to be considered as subtypes (as in Table II); but not until their own internal characteristics and their affinities have been further explored statistically. Data for the entire seventeen subtypes appear in detail in Appendix C and most of the refinements of interpretation are definitely based on direct study of them.

Chapter III

THE MAJOR TYPES

The next step in method was a return to logical principles of classification. The reasons for reintroducing such principles at this point were primarily practical. Seventeen classes are too many to talk about easily and intelligently. For the consideration of city churches as for any other subject, the mind desires a smaller number of more inclusive classes. Furthermore, the small number of cases falling within some of the statistical classes made them untenable as a basis for detailed interpretation.

The next problem of the study was, therefore, What principles of logical classification of churches into larger groups shall be used?

Distinguishing Major Types

Further steps in classification and in initial interpretation were the results of a series of observations of the number and relationships of the groups as thus statistically derived.

OBSERVING THE FACTS

(1) The classes of churches as statistically determined occupy only seventeen out of the twenty-five positions included on the rectangular diagram (Chart IV) by means of which the method of classification was explained. In other words, the directions and field of city church development are definitely limited. This is indicated by the shaded and unshaded portions of Chart IV.

(2) The group containing the largest number of churches lies just above the center of the diagram. If churches were represented by similar models thrown into compartments and the size of the resulting piles were compared, the bigger pile would be here, as indicated by the heavily shaded square on the same chart. Reading back upon the original diagram and frequency list of organizations and activities, one discovers that this, the most common and in that sense most representative city church as judged by the sample, has from five to eight activities coming within the first seventeen items of the frequency scale. Besides the well-nigh invariable religious services, church and Sunday school, it is likely to have one or two women's organizations, a young people's society, with the remainder

selected from the other available items and the probabilities in favor of the more frequent ones.¹

(3) The occupied portion of the diagram is not equally occupied throughout. City churches have not actually developed all possible combinations of programs as measured by number and range of activities; no more have they developed to the same extent all of the programs which actually appear. Thus, graphing upon the diagram

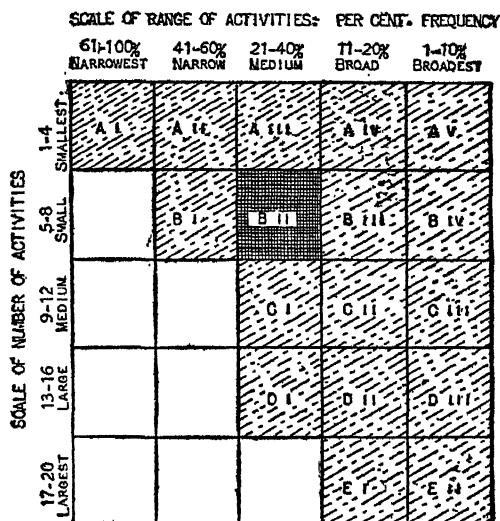


CHART IV

Field and Direction of City Church Development.

the positions of all classes of churches whose numbers exceed 5 per cent. of the total, one gets a group comprising 80 per cent. of the total number whose positions constitute a rather consistent pathway. This describes the Main Street of the city churches. If the positions of each of 1,044 churches could have been plotted mathematically by processes exactly expressing the factors used in classifying the groups as a whole, the result would probably have been expressed in a curve taking the general course of that traced upon Chart V.

(4) This curve expresses an ascending and descending series between churches with small and narrow programs at the one extreme and those with large and broad ones at the other.

¹ For diagram showing representative programs of churches of this group, see p. 97; for illustrative cases, see pp. 115 and 117.

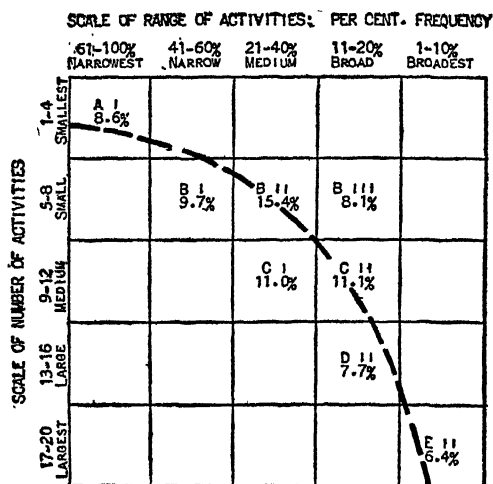


CHART V

THE MAJOR STATISTICAL GROUPS

Location and Per Cent. Distribution of Subtypes Which Constitute 5 Per Cent. or More of the Total.

LOGICAL POSSIBILITIES

With respect to the position of any given class of churches indicated upon the diagram, it was further observed that variations of three sorts are possible. There may be other churches which have increased or decreased the range and variety of their programs without increasing or decreasing the number of their activities. These will be located by moving along the horizontal lines in the chart in the plane of the range-of-activity scale. Other churches may have increased or decreased the number of their activities without increasing or decreasing their range. They will be found by moving along vertical lines on the chart in the plane of the number-of-activities scale. Still other churches may have increased or decreased both the range and the number of their activities. These will be found by looking along the diagonal line of the chart. No other variations are possible.

Since the preponderant historic movement of the churches was known to be toward larger and broader programs,² the logical possibility of recession as a basis for classification was ignored and de-

² See pp. 76 f.

gree of change was reckoned only in the direction of ampler and more complex activities.

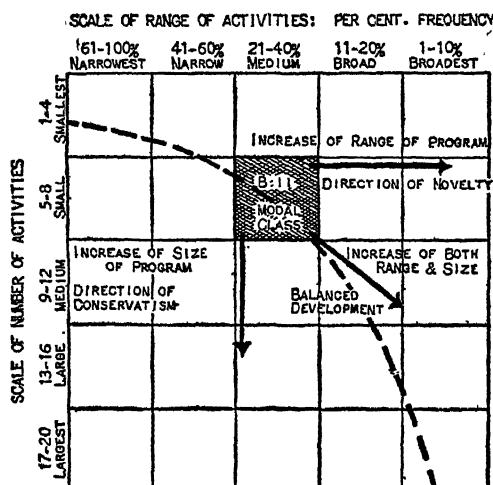


CHART VI

Possible Directions of Development Toward Complexity of Program.

SIGNIFICANCE OF VARIATION

Within the path of this forward movement these possible variations and what they indicate in terms of the relations of one class to another are indicated on Chart VI. Thus, with respect to the modal class, to increase the range of activities without increasing their number is change in the direction of novelty. It goes beyond the average practice of churches in the selection of infrequent elements for a program of a given size. Statistically it is a dilution of program. Such churches tend to spread out abnormally, considering the number of activities. They are more adventurous than the modal type. They tend toward the unusual.

On the other hand, to increase the number of activities without increasing their range is simply to do more of the same sort of thing that all of the churches of the type do. This is a further concentration of program along existing lines. Various motives may lead churches to adopt this alternative, but it is likely to include the more docile and traditional examples of the type. It expresses the trend toward conservatism.⁸

⁸ For samples of actual programs of these contrasting types, see p. 97.

Finally, an increase of both the number and the range of activities balances the logical possibilities and signifies response to the two tendencies at once.

DEGREE OF VARIATION AS A BASIS FOR DEFINING LARGER CLASSES

Obviously for a church to be unlike another *both* in number and in range of activities is to be more unlike it than if the difference lay in only one direction; also to be unlike it by two or more degrees is to be more unlike than if the difference was only one degree. This observation enables the study to organize the seventeen statistical classes into five larger groups registering degrees of likeness and unlikeness.

In order actually to accomplish this end, the following proceeding was adopted: a difference of one place in both directions or a difference of two places or more in a single direction was considered as classifying one church as belonging to a different major type from another, while a difference of a single place in a single direction was not. Generally expressed the principle was this: if a church has both a larger and a broader program than another, or if it has either a very much broader or a very much larger program, it belongs to another type. If its program is only a little larger or just a little broader than the other—but not both—the two belong to subtypes within the larger type classification.

The Major Types

Applied to the 1,044 churches the method thus outlined resulted in a re-classification of the seventeen statistical classes into types and subtypes as already shown on p. 54, the types being designated by names intended to characterize them.

The detailed steps by which this classification was reached were the following:

I. THE MODAL TYPE

The start was made with the most frequent subtype as determined by purely statistical classification. As has been shown, this includes 161 churches, or 15.4 per cent., of the 1,044 samples. Its program ranks as small-medium and it is designated B II in the classification table (Table V).

Subsequent steps necessary to apply the method above described are traced on Chart VII. Moving one step in the direction of an increased range of activities (but without increasing their number), one finds the space designated B III. This stands for a group of

eighty-four churches, constituting 8.1 per cent. of the total. In contrast with the small-medium programs of Subtype B II they have small-broad programs, but since this is a difference of but one step in one direction the two belong to the same larger type.

Again, a move of one step in the direction of increased number of activities (but without increased range) includes the space designated C I. This represents 115 churches, constituting 11 per cent. of the total. This gives another subtype differing from Subtype B II by a single step in a single direction. It is, therefore, grouped with B II as belonging to a common type.

SCALE OF RANGE OF ACTIVITIES: PER CENT. FREQUENCY

	61-100% NARROWEST	41-60% NARROW	21-40% MEDIUM	11-20% BROAD	1-10% BROADEST
SCALE OF NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES					
1-4 SMALLEST	A I	A II	A III	A IV	A V
5-8 SMALL		B I	15-24% B II 161 CHURCHES	8-12% B III 84 CHURCHES	B IV
9-12 MEDIUM			11% C I 115 CHURCHES	C II	C III
13-16 LARGE			D I	D II	D III
17-20 LARGEST				E I	E II

CHART VII

Type I—Slightly Adapted Churches, by Subtypes.

Beyond these steps it is not possible to go forward in any direction without exceeding the limits set by the definition of the types as set forth in the previous paragraph. These three subtypes, including 360, or 34.5 per cent. of the total churches, are therefore taken as constituting a single major type as shown in Chart VII. Its range of inner distinctions is expressed in its subtypes; but they differ from the modal subtype by but one degree as statistically measured; hence the whole may be accepted as homogeneous in *comparison with* any other subtype or types which must necessarily differ from it by more than a single degree.

The facts that this type starts with and includes the modal subtype and that it is itself the largest type would justify the claim

that it represents preëminently the characteristics of the city church. More than one-third of the 1,044 churches fall within this range. A later chapter will show reason for believing that it does represent the most frequent and statistically characteristic religious institution which the stronger and more completely organized denominations recognize as a "church" in the American city—the one which constitutes the central mass about which their urban church development varies. In order, however, not to anticipate this claim before its proof has been established, this type is designated simply as moderately developed and slightly adapted to urban environment.

II. CHURCHES WITH LESS EXTENSIVE AND DIVERSIFIED PROGRAMS

Working backward from the modal subtype to the next subtype which differs from it both in number and in range of activities, one comes to the one designated A II on the classification table. Its nearest variant in range of activities is A III with a smallest-medium

		SCALE OF RANGE OF ACTIVITIES: PER CENT. FREQUENCY				
		61-100% NARROWEST	41-60% NARROW	21-40% MEDIUM	11-20% BROAD	1-10% BROADEST
SCALE OF NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES	1-4 SMALLEST	8.6% A I 90 CHURCHES	3.5% A II 23 CHURCHES	2.6% A III 27 CHURCHES	A IV	A V
	5-8 SMALL		9.7% B I 101 CHURCHES	B II MODAL CLASS	B III	B IV
	9-12 MEDIUM			C I	C II	C III
	13-16 LARGE			D I	D II	D III
	17-20 LARGEST				E I	E II

CHART VIII

Type II—Unadapted Churches, by Subtypes.

program, and in number of activities, B I with a small-narrow program. The relation of these three subtypes to one another and to the modal subtype and the number and per cent. of total churches included in each appear in Chart VIII. By strict definition they

should stand as a complete major type. In order, however, to reduce the number of major types for purposes of discussion, Subtype A I, consisting of the ninety churches that have the narrowest and most limited program of all, is grouped with them. A single major type is thus constituted by combination of all the subtypes which are inferior to the modal subtype either in number or in range of program, or in both respects. Their combined total is 253 churches, or 24.2 per cent. of the 1,044.

Since the slightly adapted group is the largest and statistically most characteristic group within the sample, the group inferior with

		SCALE OF RANGE OF ACTIVITIES: PER CENT. FREQUENCY				
		61-100% NARROWEST	41-60% NARROW	21-40% MEDIUM	11-20% BROAD	1-10% BROADEST
SCALE OF NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES	1-4 SMALLEST	A I	A II	A III	A IV	A V
	5-8 SMALL		B I	B II MODAL CLASS	B III	B IV
	9-12 MEDIUM			C I	C II 11.0% 110 CHURCHES	C III
	13-16 LARGE				D I 27.7% 290 CHURCHES	D II
	17-20 LARGEST				E I	E II

CHART IX

Type III—Internally Adapted Churches, by Subtypes.

respect to it may be called relatively undeveloped and from the standpoint of the city environment, unadapted.

This designation is merely quantitative. It does not imply inferior social or religious value. All it means is that measured by a common scale these 253 churches do not show the kind or degree of institutional development which most city churches of the recognized denominations have.

III. MORE DEVELOPED CHURCHES

The next major type is located by passing beyond the modal subtype both in number and in range of activities. This starts the new type with Subtype C II with a medium-broad program and con-

sisting of 116 churches or 11.1 per cent. of the total. This is next to the most numerous subtype. Differing from it by only one degree in the direction of increased number of activities within the same range is Subtype D II with a large-broad program and including eighty churches.

Obviously the definition requires that Subtype C III also be added to complete the major type. Only an individual study of the small group of churches falling within this subtype discovered practical reasons why this should not be done. Such a study showed that the churches of C III were very unlike those of C II in spite of their statistical nearness.

Of course the entire statistical process of classifying churches as now being described was checked for validity by an objective study of many of the individual churches constituting the statistical groups. If on the whole it had been found not to group together churches which looked alike and felt alike in actual acquaintance when compared on this basis, the entire method would have been abandoned. In point of fact, intensive field study showed that to an amazing degree it grouped together churches which experience discovered to be alike. Evidence of this will appear in the exhibition of its detailed results.

The internal homogeneity of a subtype was in no case more fully demonstrated by intimate acquaintance with cases than in that of C III, which follows the medium-broad program of C II and from which one expects a medium-broadest program as the next step in development.

Its linkage with C II in the classificatory process is, however, evidence of weakness in that process at one point. Classification was based upon three factors,⁴ namely, number of stated organizations and activities, the range of these and the proportion of them that fall within any interval on the frequency scale. In taking into account the proportion of activities falling within the varying intervals of the frequency scale, the mistake was made of reckoning only with those of *less than average* frequency of occurrence. In their case it was ascertained that a church which went into the realm of infrequent activities went far enough in and with sufficient emphasis to justify one in classifying it accordingly.⁵

It was not considered, however, that a church with a limited number of activities might occupy an infrequent range by the expedient of *cutting off most of the basic activities common to the churches as a group*. It might permit itself to drift far by the device of being attached to its original anchorage by a very long and slen-

⁴ See pp. 58-61.

⁵ See p. 61.

der rope. Church number five in Table IV is a good example. It has a women's organization, boys' and girls' clubs and gymnasium work, but no regular preaching. Yet it calls itself a church!

With most of the churches of Subtype C III this is what has happened—generally in less flagrant degree. Upon examination the majority of them were found to be neighborhood houses or Christian centers, or else churches which have evolved in a similar direction. All maintained the name "church" and some of the original functions of worship and systematic instruction. But they had largely dropped the conventional women's and young people's societies with other frequent marks of the "family church" in exchange for novel activities more suited to their peculiar constituencies. Consequently while they had the same number of activities as Subtype C II and increased by but one step their range of activities (namely, from broad to broadest), they actually varied greatly *by reason of the activities which they omitted*. This the basic method of the study failed to find out statistically. Consequently the boundaries of the major type, starting with Subtype C II, are not determined exclusively by systematic grouping of statistical classes according to a uniform method. Subtype C III is excluded contrary to the definition.⁶ This appears in Chart IX.

As contrasted with the slightly adapted group the 196 churches left in this third major type have a larger and more varied program. The designation "elaborated" is therefore warranted on purely statistical grounds. By reason of the character and significance of the new elements admitted into the program it has been thought apt to call it the internally adapted type.⁷

IV. EXTREME COMPLEXITY OF CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

The first subtype of the next major type (identified as "socially adapted") is found by going a single step in both number and range of activities from the modal subtype of the preceding group.⁸ This starts one with Subtype D III, as shown on Chart X, consisting of forty-three churches, which constitutes 4.1 per cent. of the total.

⁶ For representative programs showing the difference as explained above, see p. 148 and p. 193; for a sample case, see p. 198. The failure of the basic method—by a rigid statistical process—to classify this subtype in harmony with experience proves that it was not "one hundred per cent. perfect." The missing factor can easily be allowed for in the subsequent development of methodology simply by applying to all the ranges of program—including the most frequent activities—the method of determining the average number of items which fall in this range exactly as has already been done to the ranges including the least frequent activities explained on p. 61.

⁷ See p. 147.

⁸ The designation "socially adapted" chosen for this type does not rise out of statistical considerations. With respect to designations used for the preceding types it ought to have been called the "highly elaborated" or the "most fully developed." But the nature of the new elements entering into its program, as they appear from the items on the frequency scale, is self-interpretative. They include such items as employment agencies, visiting nurses, day nurseries, dispensaries or clinics, which are clearly attempts at adapting a church's service to the needs of socially deficient communities.

ONE THOUSAND CITY CHURCHES

With respect to range of activities this brings one to the limits of the field. Subtype D III combines a significant number of activities from the entire gamut of the thirty-three enumerated on the frequency scale. Consequently no subtype can exceed it in this direction. In the direction, however, of more activities within this same range, Subtype E II, with sixty-seven churches, constituting 6.4 per cent. of the total, belongs with D III—the two completing a fourth major type. This is shown on Chart X. This type shows a

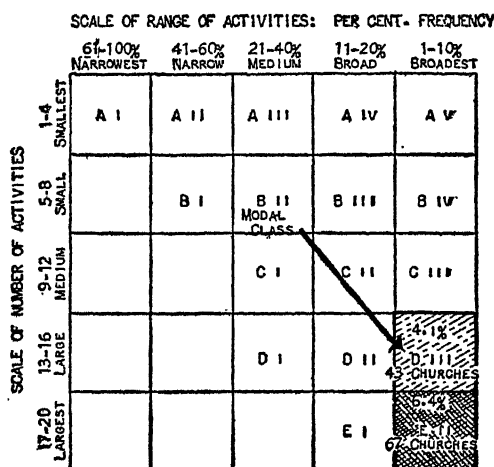


CHART X

Type IV—Socially Adapted Churches, by Subtypes.

combined total of 110 churches, or 10.5 per cent. of the 1,044 under classification.

V. VARIANTS

The four major types of churches thus far determined account for 88 per cent. of the total. Chart XI shows the location of the remaining 12 per cent. which are furthest from the dominant line of church development (indicated by the diagonal curve on the chart) and which are excluded from the preceding types by definition; with the addition of Subtype C III irregularly excluded from the major Type III on grounds previously explained.

This small remainder of churches does not constitute a homogeneous group. They are simply the wandering stars which shoot off from the main paths of development in the opposite directions

of extreme novelty or extreme conservatism of program. The subtypes which lie in these two directions will have later description and interpretation.⁹

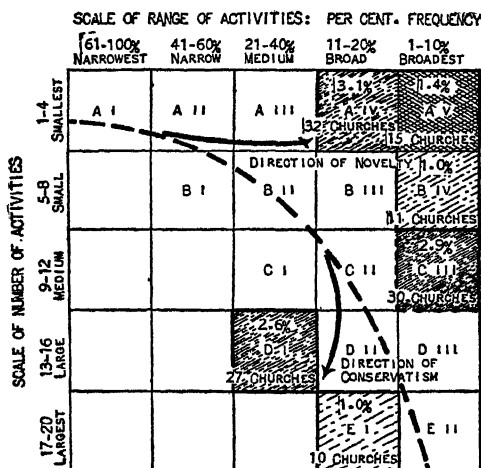


CHART XI

Type V—Widely Variant Churches, by Subtypes.

That these widely variant churches are relatively few and that there is a main path along which the great majority of city churches are distributed is the chief discovery to which the long process above described has led. There is something of unity and consistency in the church-making process as going on in the American city. And whether one likes its results or not, to understand the process must surely be one of the first tasks of interpretation.

⁹ The discovery of their statistical position of course implies no criticism of these churches. When one comes to interpret their conduct he may decide that they are making radical and thoroughgoing adaptation to some specific element in the urban situation. This may be preëminently the thing for them to do.

Chapter IV

THE EVOLUTIONARY TREND OF THE CITY CHURCH

The three last chapters have summarized the general scientific method used in the investigation on which this book is founded. Before proceeding with the presentation of its data in detail it may be helpful likewise to summarize the more general conclusions reached. As a preliminary clew to such a summary one must naturally set forth the dominating hypothesis upon which all the interpretative steps center.

This hypothesis itself centers upon the major fact statistically demonstrated by the study: namely, that there is a consistent trend of behavior running through from type to type and including the vast majority of city churches. What meaning is to be found in such a phenomenon? Briefly stated, it is believed to disclose a process of evolution, the result of which is a progressive adaptation of the church to the city.

It may be assumed that all social institutions in some measure reflect their environments. The American city somehow has instigated and called forth increasingly complex, varied and many-sided forms of organized Christianity. The story of the city church, as it has revealed itself in the present study, is that of a series of responses to the city's challenge and pressure. This is the basic hypothesis.

A secondary hypothesis is that the particular steps of the evolutionary process have specific meanings. The types of churches, in other words, reflect stages of adaptation. The less developed types express less fully and the highly developed types more fully and in different ways the response of the church to the city. The degrees of adaptation have been statistically measured. This, in terms of the hypothesis, is the essential story of the city church, the meaning of which became progressively evident in the course of the investigation.

The Hold-over of a Rural Heritage

In the further development of these hypotheses the study resorts to two assumptions so well established in the history of scientific procedure that their legitimacy will scarcely be questioned.

I. *The Past Helps to Explain the Present.*

One way to know a man is to know his ancestors. Contemporary phenomena have roots in the past, and tracing these roots helps to explain them.

Now, the present study simply analyzed churches as it found them. Its data did not reveal how they individually came to be as they are. Something, however, is known of the origins of the factors which the study primarily investigated; namely, elements of church program. Thus, for example, the four most frequent items of organization and activity are part of the most ancient heritage of American church history.

The city church inherited a series of conventional functional activities deeply imbedded in American religious history. They were part of the social evolution of the American stock in the New World and included some of its outstanding social inventions.

A thrilling and often heroic history lies behind the commonplace list of organizations and stated activities of city churches as arranged in the order of their frequency. The commonplace was not always commonplace. In Richmond, for example, there are two venerable Baptist churches, the result of a split in the original church over the question of the Sunday school!

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

Next to preaching now the most frequent and all but universal feature of the Protestant church, the Sunday school was not invented until 1780. Its present characteristic type was particularly an American adaptation. Opposed at first by the clergy as an irregular, layman's movement, its rapid establishment was due to the fact that it fitted in with the religious needs of the American frontier. It was part and parcel of the story of westward expansion. It was the pioneer's irreducible minimum in religion. It was a device to hold the fringes of civilization for Christianity before the fully established church was possible. The American Sunday School Union, founded in Cincinnati in 1829, resolved "to place a Sunday school in every destitute place in the Mississippi Valley where three or four families were neighbors"; and it was so. The Sunday school became indissolubly wedded to the church in American practice.

THE LADIES' AID SOCIETY

The next most frequent organization of the American church, the Ladies' Aid Society, is singularly unhonored and unsung in ecclesiastical history. It is so old as almost to be taken for granted.

"From the beginning of our churches," says Bacon, speaking of New England, "the Dorcas Society or charitable sewing circle was characteristic of them." Based on the New Testament example and the neighborly and social impulses of women of the frontier village, this type of organization—Ladies' Aid Society, association or guild—has become one of the fundamental agencies of the church.

WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

Scarcely less frequent is the third item of the established subsidiaries of the church, namely, women's missionary organizations. At this point the economic interpretation of American religious history wavers. How could mere fragments of population, struggling desperately for a foothold in the wilderness, in constant danger of complete annihilation at the hand of the savage, write so early and so deeply into their religious story their concern for the heathen across the seas? It was chiefly in New England, whose soil was uncongenial to profitable agriculture, but whose ships sailed the farthest seas, that this vision of world-wide Christian relationships was natural. In this as in so many other respects the schoolmistress of the frontier, the New England influence wrote women's missionary organizations into the original program of the American church at a very early date. Mite societies of this type appear in the eighteenth century, while the "Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes" (1800) and the "New Hampshire Female Cent Institution" (1804) mark the beginning of formal organization and were soon widely copied. In this single aspect of the American church what is now a most widely established feature cannot be regarded as the product of general American evolution, but rather of a provincial idealism propagated by its own strength and sincerity.

THE ERA OF YOUTH

From the beginning of the last century, when the woman's missionary societies were originating, it was eighty years before anything new happened in the realm of religious organization at all commensurate with the facts previously enumerated. In 1881, the first Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor was established, initiating the era of formal organization of young people for service under their own leadership and initiative. This story is part of contemporary experience and does not require further illustration, except to say that nothing has happened since which has really become generally characteristic of the American church.

The story of these first four items in the program of the Ameri-

can church in order of present frequency thus epitomizes its more general history. It makes plain the mild beginnings of that specialization of organization for the different age-, and sex-groups which has so greatly lengthened the list of activities to-day. So far evolution had provided societies only for children, for women, and

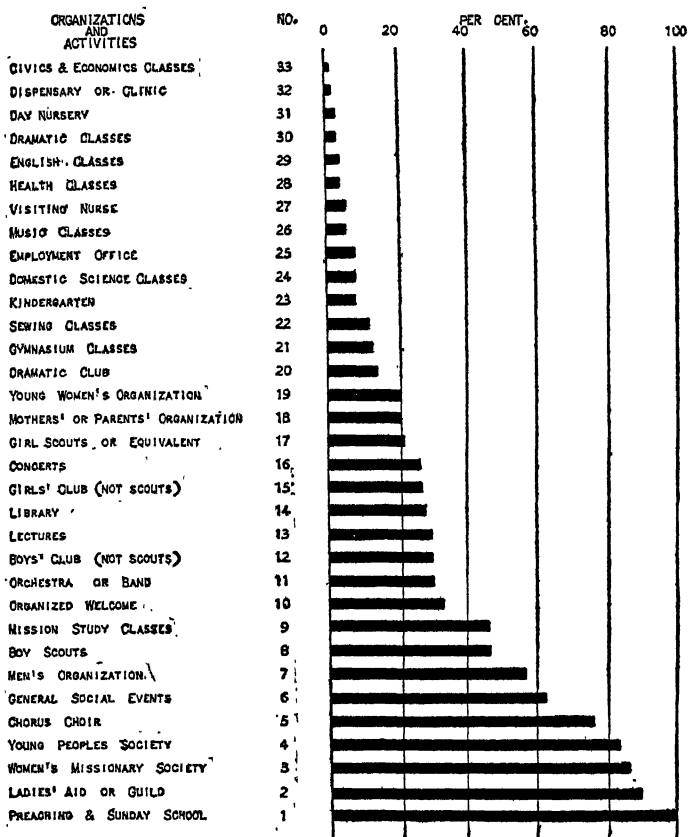


CHART XII

Per cent. Frequency of Church Organizations and Activities.

for young people in mixed organizations, but the tendency toward differentiation which these beginnings marked out is clear.

No set of organizations is so deeply embedded in American religious history as these which have been considered. It will not be questioned that this fact explains why they stand at the top of the list in the contemporary frequency scale.

II. *A Broader Contemporary Induction Also Aids Explanation.*

If the past is a clew to the present, so equally is more of the present a clew to itself. Science habitually resorts to the method of steadying its hypotheses by broadening the area of its observation and utilizing results from analogous fields. In the present case this process involves the inclusion of rural churches along with city churches in the field of study and a comparison of the two.

This step includes in the field of observation that part of our civilization which most nearly reflects the America into which the

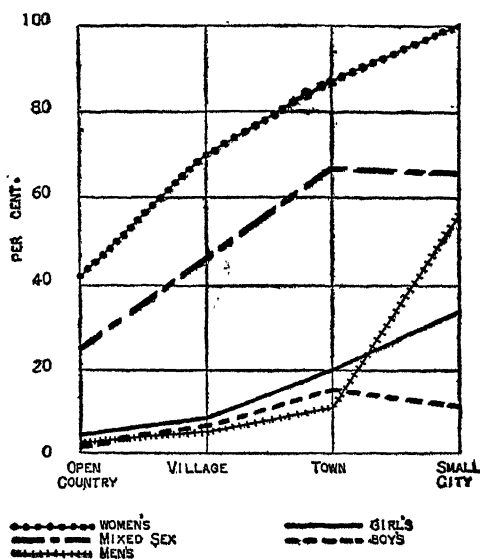


CHART XIII

Per cent. Frequency of Specified Types of Organizations in Open Country, Village, Town and Small City Churches,

more frequent and deeply rooted church activities were born; the part least changed, more original, more particularly and authentically national than the city is, especially in its influence in fixing religious patterns and types.

FREQUENCY OF ORGANIZATIONS IN RURAL CHURCHES

Measuring the actual prevalence in the rural church of the organizations now being investigated for the city church, one discovers how definitely the characteristic program of the American church as a whole dovetails, and how genuinely the whole process constitutes

a consistent series of changes from simplicity to complexity corresponding to the size of the community which the church serves.¹ Only 42 per cent. of the open-country churches were found to have any form of women's organization, while but 25 per cent. had a young people's organization. Beyond the four organizations already identified as most frequent in cities (Table III), open-country churches very rarely go.

The village church, studied in 331 typical examples, had some form of subsidiary organization in eight cases out of ten. Nevertheless, fewer than one-half of the village churches had any young people's organizations even of the familiar Christian Endeavor type.

The town church, on the other hand, represented by ninety-six cases, stood close to the nine churches of small cities (which were incidentally included in the rural survey) with respect to frequency of subsidiary organizations. It equals the small city in per cent. of young people's organizations and exceeds it in per cent. of boys' organizations. Table VI substantiates these generalizations in detail.

TABLE VI—FREQUENCY OF CERTAIN SUBSIDIARY CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS IN RURAL CHURCHES AND IN CHURCHES IN SMALL CITIES

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Per Cent. Frequency Rural Churches.</i>		<i>Small City Churches</i>	
	<i>Open Country</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Town</i>	
Some Subsidiary Organizations besides Sunday School	52	79	93	100
Women's Organization	42	70	87	100
More than one Women's Organization	17	21	44	90
Mixed Sex Organizations (usually Young People's)	25	47	67	66
More than one Mixed Sex Organization	5	14	37	0
Men's Organization	2	5 *	10	55
Boys' Organization	1	6 *	15 *	11
Girls' Organization	3	8 *	20	33

* Less than 1 per cent. have more than one.

Open country, village, town and city constitute an ascending series of population groups. The above table shows a complete correspondence between increase in the size of the community (and

¹ The possibility of presenting comparable data for the rural church is due to the extensive studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research in that field. These are embodied in the twelve volumes of the Town and Country series, and especially in the summary volume "The Town and Country Church in the United States," New York, 1923.

The following usage pertains throughout the rural studies of the Institute. "Country" means population in unincorporated hamlets and farmsteads or in incorporated places of fewer than 250 people; "village" means incorporated places of from 250 to 2,500; "town" means incorporated places of from 2,500 to 5,000; "city" means all places with more than 5,000 population.

in consequent complexity of social organization) and in complexity of church program. It also shows that the type of church prevalent in the small city begins slightly beyond where the town leaves off.

TOWN AND CITY CHURCH COMPARED

The comparisons of the above table involve the entire range of rural churches. It is more accurate to compare the most highly developed form of genuinely rural church, namely, that of the town, with the most frequent and representative church of the large city as described in a subsequent chapter.² The degree of their correspondence and difference appears in Table VII:

TABLE VII—FREQUENCY OF CERTAIN SUBSIDIARY CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS IN TOWN CHURCHES AND IN MODAL CHURCHES OF LARGE CITIES

<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Per Cent. Frequency</i> <i>Town Church</i>	<i>Modal City Church</i>
Some Subsidiary Organizations besides Sunday School	93	100
Women's Organization	87	99
More than one Women's Organization	44	81
Mixed Sex Organizations (usually young people's)	67	77
More than one Mixed Sex Organization	37	8
Men's Organization	10	53
Boys' Organization	15	52
Girls' Organization	20	34

ADVANCE AND OVERLAPPING

According to the showing of the above table, the most characteristic city church is considerably ahead of the highest rural type in complexity of organization. The more general differences between the two are easily intelligible. In only one item, namely, mixed sex organization, is the town church ahead of the city church; but mixed sex organization is exactly what the city church is getting away from. It substitutes rather organizations specializing in service to a single age or sex, as illustrated by separate organizations for men, women, boys and girls.

In other words, the average development of the city church lies beyond the utmost point which the rural church has reached.³

Below the average city church, however, are numerous undeveloped city churches which overlap the higher reaches of the rural church. Roughly speaking, the 25 per cent. or more of city churches

² See pp. 95 f.

³ For discussion of the competency of the evidence to determine "average" development, see pp. 95 f.

which are least developed, are no larger and no more completely organized than many average rural churches. So far as the criteria go, they register no response to urban environment. They are unadapted.

At the other extreme come the highly developed city types which lie farthest from their country origins and indeed have gone far beyond the urban average. In them the precise marks of the city's influence are easy to trace.

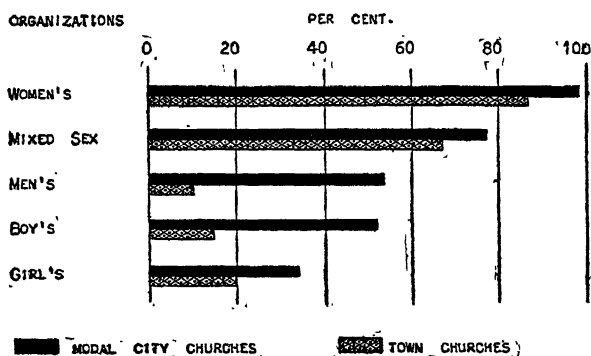


CHART XIV

Per Cent. Frequency of Specified Organizations in Town Churches and in Modal Churches of Large Cities.

An Evolved Rural Church

With the aid of history and the extension of the contemporary series of phenomena to include the rural church, it is at length possible to bring the dominating hypothesis of the study to its complete development. This hypothesis is that the city church is an evolved rural church. What it has come to be is the result of an evolution from a rural parent stock. Its immediate ancestor is the town church. This does not mean, of course, that every highly developed church has followed exactly the same steps, nor that all churches should evolve as far as the farthest in order to serve the city in the best way. On the other hand it is not a figure of speech. Specifically it means five things:

(1) Some city churches date back to the time when the city was still a village and have never grown out of their early village attitudes. City growth in America has shown unparalleled rapidity. Certain institutions have grown up along with the city; others have

remained villagers at heart. All of them retain more than a slight trace of rural origins.

For example, during the decade 1910-1920, 474 villages and towns, according to the Census, grew up and passed over into the city class, bringing with them at least 1,185,000 people. But the new classification was no guarantee that the people were inwardly changed, especially in so conservative an aspect of their life as the church.

It is Prof. W. L. Bailey's very acute observation that the extreme mobility of city churches is in part a struggle to maintain rural character. When urban problems have been thrust upon them in one locality they have as often as not taken themselves off into some quiet residential section where they could cherish the earlier traditions of the country-side unchallenged.

(2) Other city churches were formerly in villages surrounding cities and have been annexed. This phenomenon is another expression of the city's ceaseless expansion. Frequently, however, the suburbs are disinclined to be swallowed up. Their opposition is sometimes intrenched in the churches which cling to old traditions and limit themselves to the function of village institutions, when other phases of community life have caught step with the more diversified urban processes.

(3) Other churches in the city have been newly organized to meet the needs of incoming rural people.⁴ During the decade 1910-1920 the second largest source of city growth consisted of domestic immigrants, largely native whites of native parentage and Negroes from the country.⁵ Another very large element in recent city growth has been foreign immigration; and this, as the Census recognizes, has itself been largely of rural origin. Relatively little of it, however, is Protestant. This leaves the main growth of Protestant churches dependent upon native rural immigration.

While these recruits from the country find city life radically different and correspondingly perplexing, the change of their habits is not instantaneous. Some of the reasons for this are often forgotten. Thus in Chicago, the second city of the continent, nearly one-fourth of the present area is occupied by single-family houses. Three-quarters of a million people live in these houses (though the average occupancy is a family and a half per house). Another million live in two-family houses. One-third of the 3,217 miles of street are unpaved. Not one-half are covered by the city water system. One-half of the total street mileage has vacant land facing it, and one-third of all the privately owned land is vacant.

Under these circumstances multitudes living on the fringes of Chicago, to say nothing of its suburban residents, are not under immediately acute pressure to change their religious habits. Their working conditions have

⁴ For examples, see pp. 139 and 140.

⁵ Census monograph, *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920*, p. 76. See p. 142 *infra* for further census evidence.

taken on city form, but their living conditions have much in common with the town or village. As Prof. W. L. Bailey points out, large populations are without rapid transit facilities and are even less provided with central institutions of business and recreation than are people of the little town.

What is true of Chicago is still more true of most of the smaller cities.

(4) Other city churches reflect the transplanted rural ideals of their denominations. Appendix Table 3 shows that the typical American Protestant denomination has more than three-fourths of

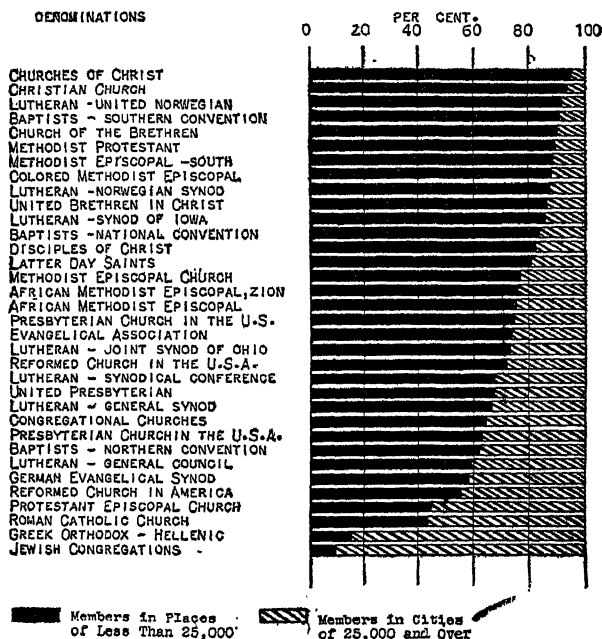


CHART XV

Proportion of Church Members in 34 Denominations Living in Places of More Than 25,000 and Places of Less Than 25,000 Population.

its membership in rural places or in the smaller cities, while a considerable number of denominations are more than nine-tenths rural. Appendix Table 4 shows that only thirteen denominations are represented in the majority of American large cities. By far the greater number are in little contact with the urban field. When the rural element of a denomination greatly predominates it naturally fixes its atmosphere and determines its ecclesiastical law and usage. This tends to subject its city churches to rural standards and partly at least to dominate their ideals.

(5) Finally, by common consent, the church as an institution is judged conservative. Since its roots are so deeply embedded in rural civilization it may be assumed to have brought over much of the past into ecclesiastical life. This is in contrast with other factors of modern life which have reached their most novel and dynamic form in the modern city.

Such is the rural inheritance of the city church.⁶ It is this inheritance which the undeveloped types perpetuate and from which the modal type has departed but slightly.

Beyond the modal type begin those forms of church life which reflect the city in some conspicuous degree. There is no direct evidence to show whether they actually reflect populations that have lived for longer time in a city environment, or populations of mixed antecedents—rural and urban—in which the process of urbanization has been speeded up by some special pressure. In either case they are a minority bearing the special brand of the city.

In contrast with them, and by reason of the underlying rural inheritance, more than half of all urban churches must be regarded, in the light of the hypothesis of the study, as in the city rather than of it. The city church on the whole has not yet shaken the dust of the country from its feet.

The validity of the hypothesis that the city church is an essentially evolved rural church must stand or fall with the evidence of data to be presented in the following sections. All that is sought at this point is to maintain its inherent credibility.

Why the City Should Modify the Church

The virtual certainty that the city would impress its own forms and characteristics upon an institution would probably be taken for granted in any other case than that of the church. All the city's human institutions are involved in the urbanizing process. The former simplicity of human relationships is lost, and their elements are recombined in the more and more complex patterns.

Thus, one of the most frequent concerns of the church is with what the city has done to the family. It immensely reduces the traditional sphere of the home and substitutes numerous external social processes. The rural child is born in the home; the city child in a hospital. In the country, eyes, teeth and tonsils are the incidental care of the family physician; in the city, they have become the specific business of armies of specialists. Rural education is a narrow interest typically carried on by a single teacher for a handful of pupils; urban education is a vast and complicated set of affairs in

⁶ See Williams, *Our Rural Heritage* (New York, Knopf, 1925) for a much broader application of the theory to civilization in many aspects.

which even the small child is subjected to a wide variety of instructors. The youth who goes to a city high school finds a more specialized institution than was the college of yesterday, while the college has been drawn into the mazes of university interests and organizations. The majority of youth, however, pass early into industry or business. Here they find themselves subjected to highly organized systems in extreme contrast with rural working and exchanging of goods. A most flagrant difference is the presence in the city of a very high proportion of women workers, many of whom are married and many more of whom live as well as work away from home. Urban social pursuits and organizations take on a parallel degree of variety and intricacy. To a degree formerly unknown to village communities, for all epochs of life beginning with childhood, social satisfactions are found outside of the home by individuals going their several ways rather than by family groups. The family under such circumstances cannot be the closely knit unit that it formerly was. The city has urbanized the family.

Not a few of the characteristic organizations and activities undertaken by the city church are deliberate and confessed efforts to supply a substitute environment affording the same moral atmosphere that the home formerly was supposed to afford. It is, therefore, probably not amiss to regard the city church's wide range of new activities, organized by age-, and sex-groups, in the large, as a sign of urbanization and of the larger adaptation to city environment.

Under such conditions, that adaptation has not gone farther than it has is probably to be explained by the conservatism of ecclesiastically organized religion. From this standpoint, the modification of the family's functions appears as its disintegration. As a mere investigation of objective facts, it is no part of the business of this study to speculate how far this attitude may be justified. Very likely the very terms of present urban existence constitute an overshooting of the mark for humanity. Perhaps its stuff was not made for such extreme pressure or specialization.

Quite possibly the effort of man to live in cities like ours involves both organic and moral overstrain in certain phases. It is simply not yet known whether man is going to succeed in the great adventure of a highly urbanized civilization.

The bearing of these considerations upon the hypothesis of this study is this: Confronted with such alternatives, it is no wonder that emotions are stirred concerning the evolution of the city church, and that fears are aroused. Unquestionably the city breeds a different philosophy from the country's and threatens a changed morality. Such characteristics of the city will naturally be resisted by a transplanted rural church which instinctively senses shifting standards

and looks upon emancipation from past conventions as a surrender of character.

RESPONSE TO THE CITY

Certain phenomena of the city church, therefore, are not to be explained as the result of the reasonable pressure of the city to make the church over into its own pattern and the natural resistance of conservatism. The city shows churches on the primitive as well as on the rural level. Later paragraphs will deal in detail with certain rural phases of the unadapted city church showing how strong an influence the extreme revulsion of the non-urban mind exerts in its origins and perpetuation. Many of the new sects and isms of the city are largely marks of an undermining of the rural tradition of certain immigrant populations, which are too feeble or too uncourageous to make genuinely urban adaptations, but are at the same time unable to stand still in the changeful city.

For the most part, however, the church does respond to the city. Greater complexity of organization and wider range of service are the most general symptoms of it. The most outstanding and obvious result is that some churches respond faster than others, so that they string out in a series registering differing degrees of urban adaptation.

ADAPTATION INEVITABLE BUT INCOMPLETE

As a result, the American city has a church that is gradually coming to reflect its general environment—but that does so very incompletely. In more than one-half of its area the city church is not urbanized in the sense of the preceding analysis. It reflects the newness of the city and the relative disinclination of ecclesiastical organization to change—also the relative total weakness of Protestantism and its extreme divisions and over-small local units. It expresses the attitudes of many city dwellers who have but recently come from the country or who came too late to change their minds—the permanently un-urbanized. It may suit such people; but it has not proved that it can serve them adequately in a city environment. Here they are literally demoralized. Their earlier manners of thought and conduct were the expression not necessarily of superior virtue, but of a simpler environment. They have lost this environment and cannot maintain the continuity of the new life with the old. They are uneasy victims of corresponding psychological changes. The unanswerable demonstration of this is the fact that they so frequently lose the younger generation. The church cannot

stay with the backward-looking and unadventurous. It must go forward with youth to some version or other of urban adaptation.

How fast it has done this and how far it has gone can be discovered only by the study of the steps of adaptation in detail. How far it ought to go one will, in some measure, be in position to guess at the end of the study. What must first concern one is the process as a whole. It is a process of evolution and adaptation. This is its meaning and the meaning of its successive types as statistically determined.

The Possibility of Retrogression

Up to this point the discussion has proceeded as though city churches came to be as they are always and entirely through a process of evolution. This would be to imply institutional immortality—something which the nature of society by no means guarantees. While progressive development is a general tendency actually encountered in the study and while a fully adapted religious institution, like the church, has every prospect of living as long as the civilization of which it is a part, not all individual churches are thus adapted. There is, therefore, a backward secondary tendency to be reckoned with. Churches decay as well as develop. This no more denies the evolutionary process than the dissolution of man denies the story of his growth. An old man does not go to pieces "all at once and nothing first." Sometimes it is his eyes which go, again his ears. What is left of him is a fragment of his former powers. Similarly, churches decline gradually and irregularly.

Thus the downward course of a church in St. Louis was traced for ten years following a previous decade during which it stood still. It was the last survivor of a slow retreat which has swept a dozen of the strongest churches of the city out of a favored residential area of a quarter of a century ago, now teeming with sordid Negro tenements and the crowded homes of rural immigrants. During this period of decay it progressively lopped off one function after another until it had become practically a shell of its former self. Its actual constituency was so remote that when a new site was chosen, it was entirely beyond the city limits.

CHURCHES COMING AND GOING

This possibility must enter into the particular judgment passed on any individual church. One must know its ancestors and must also know its own life-history. Before asking how far it has gone, one must investigate the way it is coming and be sure that it is coming at all.

It is plain that a church may come to fall within any given type as a result of retrogression. Any present level, except the highest,

may conceivably be a stranding by reason of a recessive movement. One finds it not at the highest point to which it has climbed but at the place where it has landed after a fall.

Usually abnormalities of program mark retrogressive churches. Many a dignified man becomes a temporary contortionist in an effort to save himself from a fall. Similarly, with churches on the down grade. There is a desperate snatching at this and that resulting in an ill-balanced and lopsided program.

At the very bottom, in the company of new and always unfortunate churches, the great church of yesterday may sometimes be found. This motley company of failures is like the tragical mixture of population in an almshouse where homeless children, feeble-minded and unfortunates in their second childhood are herded together.

Summary

The book has now presented the relationships between the churches included in its study from two points of view. The former was methodological, the present one is explanatory. In the previous chapters no clew to the meaning of the relationships of the church types had been presented. In considering them, one started, merely as an expedient, with the most frequent type, and measured backward and forward from it for degrees of difference. In the present chapter, on the contrary, the possession of an explanatory hypothesis makes it possible to begin at the beginning of the series and to view it as a continuous whole.

Including the additional possibility of a recessive movement as now recognized, the version of the facts to which the basic hypothesis leads may be restated as follows: City churches as a group are found distributed along a path leading from simplicity to complexity of program. The most general explanation of this phenomenon in the light of the host of ecclesiastical organizations and activities, is that they are increasingly getting away from a rural tradition and are moving toward urbanization. Individual churches, however, may sometimes have to move in an opposite direction and to retrace their own steps. The type of any given church is, therefore, to be determined primarily with reference to its degree of development beyond a rural parent stock in the effort to adapt itself to the city, or in terms of its retrogression from some previous peak of its own evolution.

Subordinate Hypotheses

It is not assumed, of course, that the hypothesis of rural tradition and partial urban adaptation can explain every phenomenon of the

city church. Differences in numerical and financial strength obviously modify its working programs. One does not always have what he wants; sometimes one cannot afford it. Again, there are numerous particular ecclesiastical traditions, perpetuated in the various denominations, as well as a general rural tradition. What a given body of Christians believes to be the proper organization and sphere of church activity manifestly enters into the determination of the types of its churches. Then there are the numberless special circumstances that affect the institutional strategy and practice of the individual church.

The influence of these factors has not been segregated nor directly measured, but the study assumes that they function constantly either reënforcing or checking the general processes of urban adaptation. After the concrete situations in which they seem to appear have been considered and illustrated in the chapters that follow, these factors receive more formal recognition as subordinate hypotheses and principles of explanation.⁷

With this section the first major division of the book is completed. Following an historical preface, the method and its outcome in the determination of types of churches was explained in Chapters II and III. The present chapter introduced the dominant hypothesis which was implied earlier in the naming of the types.

According to this hypothesis, the "unadapted" type is to be regarded as essentially the hold-over of a rural institution which has not begun to make distinctive urban adjustments. The "slightly adapted" type is the product of a struggle between traditional and novel forces resulting in a small degree of adaptation. The "internally adapted" type shows the church committed to urban attitudes and adaptation but limiting their organized expression primarily within its own institutional sphere and with respect to its own constituency. The "socially adapted" type, on the contrary, molds itself upon phases of service to the city beyond its original constituency and frequently adopts a special constituency on the grounds of its acute social need.

Subordinate hypotheses show why the evolution of individual churches, which classify statistically within these types, may have special principles of explanation, and warn against overworking the major hypothesis or depending upon it too exclusively as the clew to the facts.

⁷ See pp. 240 f. and 302 f.

■

PART II

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS IN DETAIL

■

Chapter V

THE SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCH

Part II presents the main body of statistical data and conclusions resulting from the method and leading to the explanatory hypothesis stated in Part I.

Findings and Conclusions in Detail

This part in turn falls into two divisions. In the first (Chapters V to X), the results of the study are exhibited and the data directly interpreted. In the second, the significance of the results as a working classification of churches is tested and reënforced from various points of view.

ADEQUACY OF THE DATA

The kind of validity which attaches to the data also differs in the two divisions. In the first, one is dealing with data entirely adequate to constitute a sound basis for determining the types of city churches, which is the fundamental problem that the study sets for itself. The 1,044 churches constitute a numerically adequate sample of the city church field.

The relative size of the sample is seen from the comparison in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII—ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND MEMBERS IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND NUMBER OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND MEMBERS INCLUDED IN THE PRESENT STUDY

	<i>Estimated Total, 1922</i>	<i>Number Included in Present Study</i>	<i>Ratio of Sam- ple to Total</i>
<i>Churches</i>	13,182	1,044	7.9
<i>Members</i> —Method 1	4,500,883	578,146	12.8
Method 2	4,297,591	578,146	13.5

The numbers in the column entitled "Estimated Total, 1922," are necessarily estimates because no one has counted city churches since the United States Religious Census in 1916. The last previous census was in 1906.

An obvious method of estimating the actual total number at the date of the survey was to project the same yearly amount of increase

over the six years following 1916 as was known to have pertained in the previous ten years. There were 10,096 Protestant churches in cities of 100,000 and over in 1906, and 12,025 in 1916. This gives a probability of 13,182 in 1922.

In estimating the membership by the same method, one starts with 2,954,955 members in cities of the above-mentioned size in 1906, and 3,921,160 in 1916. At the same amount of increase, the 1922 membership should have been 4,500,883.

A second method starts with 3,921,160 known members of 1916 and adds an estimated increase for the six following years of 1.6 per cent. annually, which is the average increase revealed by the annual Protestant church membership statistics published by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This estimated increase is for total membership and it is not known how accurately it applies to the churches in larger cities taken alone. On this basis, the estimated total membership in cities of more than 100,000 should have been 4,297,591 in 1922.

The results of both methods are presented because they are significantly close together considering the large number of the cases involved, and consequently tend strongly to confirm each other.

The numerical adequacy of so large a sample for comparing types of churches will not be questioned.¹ Unless broken up into types which include an excessively small number of churches it affords enough cases for the determination of trends through statistical processes. The likenesses and unlikenesses between resulting types, when accurately measured, will closely reflect the likenesses and unlikenesses of similar groups of Protestant city churches throughout the nation.

In the second division of Part II (which tests and reinforces as a working classification the major types as statistically and analytically determined) the adequacy of the underlying data is less perfect. It is valid for the uses made of it and its limitations are sufficiently discussed at the beginning of the chapters concerned.

The Slightly Adapted Church

In beginning the description in detail of the several types of churches which are identified by the study, one naturally starts with the modal type of the sample—the slightly adapted church. Each section of description is followed by one of explanation, applying and amplifying the explanatory hypothesis and adding supplemental explanations as suggested by the matter treated.

¹ The fact that the sample includes about 13 per cent. of the membership of city churches but only about 8 per cent. of the churches of course indicates that the churches included in the sample were beyond average size. In view of this, the problem of their competency to throw light upon the actual group-distribution of all city churches is raised by later uses of the data (see p. 301), but is not involved at this point.

The study of this type is based upon 360 cases, these constituting 34.5 per cent. of the total number of churches investigated.

The slightly adapted group includes the following subtypes:

Sub- types	Type of Program by Activities		Number of Churches	Per Cent. of All Churches
	Number	Range		
B II	Small	Medium	161	15.4
B III	Small	Broad	84	8.1
C I	Medium	Medium	115	11.0

PROGRAMS AND THEIR VARIATIONS

The range of their respective programs and five sample programs for churches of each subtype appear in Table IX.

TABLE IX—SAMPLE PROGRAMS OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES

Organizations and Activities	Subtypes														
	B II					B III					C I				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. Preaching and Sunday School	*	*	*	*	*	*			*		*	*	*	*	*
2. Ladies' Aid or Guild	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
3. Women's Missionary Society	*	*	*		*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
4. Young People's Society			*	*	*		*		*		*		*	*	*
5. Chorus Choir	*	*		*		*					*	*	*	*	*
6. General Social Events	*		*				*				*	*	*	*	*
7. Men's Organization ..			*		*		*	*		*	*		*	*	*
8. Boy Scouts								*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
9. Mission Study Classes ..									*		*	*		*	
10. Organized Welcome ..					*						*		*		
11. Orchestra or Band ..		*		*			*				*				
12. Boys' Club(not Scouts) ..		*	*			*								*	*
13. Lectures	*			*			*					*	*		
14. Library	*											*		*	
15. Girls' Club(not Scouts) ..					*								*		
16. Concerts	*				*					*			*		*
17. Girl Scouts or Equivalent						*	*			*					*
18. Mothers' or Parents' Organization															
19. Young Women's Organization						*	*		*						
20. Dramatic Club							*	*	*	*					
21. Gymnasium Classes ..						*				*					
22. Sewing Classes															
	8	7	7	5	8	6	8	5	8	8	11	9	12	11	9

A still further analysis of the difference between the subtypes is presented in the following comparison:

<i>Sub- types</i>	<i>Range of Program</i>	<i>Number of Activities</i>	
		<i>Range</i>	<i>Average</i>
B II	Items 1-17	5-8	6.3
B III	Items 1-22	5-8	6.5
C I	Items 1-17	9-12	9.1

As compared with the modal Subtype B II, Subtype B III increases the range of its activities without increasing the number, while Subtype C I increases the number without increasing the range. These alternatives are graphically presented in Chart VII.

If, for example, a church of Subtype B II has only five items in its program, they are most likely to be preaching and Sunday school, ladies' aid and women's missionary societies, young people's organization and a chorus choir. If it has eight activities, it is most likely to add church receptions and dinners, a men's organization and Boy Scouts; but it at least chooses its activities somewhere within the first seventeen items of the list.

A church of Subtype B III may have as few as five activities, but enjoys a range of twenty-two items from which to select them, provided that one activity must come from items 18 to 22. Any one who will make the experiment of organizing a church program out of five to eight items within such limitations will be convinced that they afford opportunity only for an unbalanced, attenuated program. Yet that is the choice which 8.1 per cent. of the 1,044 sample churches make.

Contrast now a church of Subtype C I. It may have as many as twelve activities selected from the first seventeen on the list. A pastor may build an exceedingly compact program for an average church out of such elements. He perhaps does not need a boys' club if he has Boy Scouts, and may omit an orchestra as something of a refinement. Less than one-fourth of the 1,044 sample churches have any separate girls' organization, so he will round out an amply "typical" program though omitting one.

Eleven per cent. of the 1,044 sample churches have programs of from nine to twelve items approximating such a character.

SIMILARITIES OUTWEIGH DIFFERENCES

If it is objected that a program of five items chosen from a list of twenty-two is so different from one of twelve items chosen from a list of seventeen that they ought not to be classified as belonging to a common type, the answer, as previously indicated,² is that the

² See p. 64.

types are constituted by a systematic grouping of the subtypes merely for convenience and economy of thinking. The three subtypes, B II, B III, and C I, are composed of churches more nearly like one another than they are like those of any of the other fourteen subtypes. There are really extraordinary differences within the total sample of city churches compared with the differences within the type. This justifies the inclusion within a single class of churches differing in program as widely as those above described, provided they show other common tendencies and trends. That they do so will appear from later paragraphs.

CONTENTS OF PROGRAMS

Without forcing any hard and fast classification upon the twenty-two items constituting the possible program of a slightly adapted church, it is at least possible to discuss the tendencies which they express. Beyond the four elementary activities common to more than 80 per cent. of the 1,044 sample churches, namely, preaching and Sunday school, two women's organizations and a young people's society, four tendencies are clear: (1) to embellish the church's services by the development of such organizations as a chorus choir or, less frequently, of an orchestra; (2) to enrich the church's social life; (3) to add organizations based upon the differentiations of age-, and sex-groups (men's, boys', girls', young men's), and (4) to add organizations reflecting more varied interests (missions, culture, recreation). These are the tendencies at work within the typical church program. To explain these tendencies and to interpret more fully the content and limits of the program is the task of the next chapter.

Other Aspects of the Slightly Adapted Church

Each type of city church has been separately studied on all the items of information by which the city churches as a whole have subsequently been characterized.³ The results as regards the slightly adapted church appear in the following paragraphs.

MEMBERSHIP SIZE

The type is not narrowly limited by size of membership, as is evident from Table X.

The most frequent size of the slightly adapted church is between one and two hundred members, but the larger memberships up to 400 are nearly as frequent and the medium size is 408. In this

³ See p. 205.

TABLE X—MEMBERSHIP OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution</i>
Under 500	57.0
Under 100	6.7
100 to 200	15.6
200 to 300	13.4
300 to 400	13.7
400 to 500	7.6
500 to 1,000	25.6
1,000 and over	17.4

* 328 churches reporting.

type there are more churches of fewer than 200 members than there are of 1,000 members. A considerable number of relatively small churches may carry on a typical program of service, while a considerable number of very large ones evidently do not care to do more.⁴

AGE AND PERMANENCE

Somewhat fewer than one-third of the churches of the type are less than twenty-five years old; just about one-third are between twenty-five and fifty years old; while somewhat more than one-third are over fifty years old. Only 31.9 per cent. are still located on the spot where they were organized; consequently, a much larger proportion are young in present location than are young in years.

TABLE XI—AGE AND NUMBER OF YEARS IN PRESENT LOCATION OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES

<i>Years</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution Age *</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution Years in Present Location †</i>
Less than 25	30.4	50.0
25-49	32.2	33.3
50-74	21.3	12.2
75-99	11.5	3.6
100 and over	4.6	0.9

* 286 churches reporting.

† 222 churches reporting.

That nearly two-thirds of typical city churches are less than fifty years old reflects the fact that the American city is of relatively recent growth. That so few have stood on one spot as much as fifty years reflects the enormous mobility of city life as it affects church fortunes.⁵ Few indeed are the churches of seventy-five years of age and over which have never moved.

⁴ Appendix Table 5.

⁵ Appendix Tables 6, 7 and 8.

THE MINISTRY

In terms of its paid religious workers, the typical city church is characteristically a one-man enterprise, as shown by Table XII.

TABLE XII—PAID RELIGIOUS WORKERS IN SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
1	59.7
2	19.4
3	12.3
4	5.3
5 or more	3.3

* 340 churches reporting.

Of paid workers other than pastors there are about eight women to every five men.

The range of activities discovered in the program of the slightly adapted church convincingly explains the presence in 40 per cent. of them of multiple staffs. In a large church the parish work, the church office, the Sunday school or the finances may easily call for an additional worker to supplement the pastor. These are the most frequent types of paid assistance.⁶

It is significant that Subtype C I has a larger proportion of churches with multiple staffs than the average of the type. To add either to the range or to the number of a church's activities, it appears, tends to require more workers.⁷

THE PASTOR

The pastors of typical city churches show all degrees of experience in the ministry as evidenced by Table XIII.

While not many men of very brief experience can command city churches of even moderate development, about one-sixth of the pastors of this group are men of more than thirty years' experience. Assuming that they entered the ministry at an average age of twenty-eight, the men in this group must be fifty-eight and over. The employment of a considerable proportion of men of this age somewhat contradicts the prevailing impression that elderly men cannot hold average city pulpits. Discrimination against inexperience is far greater than against age.⁸

⁶ The nomenclature in use to describe the workers who perform these services is not sufficiently fixed to enable one to calculate the exact number of each type. The name does not tell exactly what an "assistant pastor" does or how a "pastor's assistant's" time is divided as between clerical and parish duties.

⁷ Appendix Table 9.

⁸ Appendix Table 12.

Almost always the pastor of the typical city church is well trained in the traditional sense, 83.5 per cent. having full college and seminary preparation or better, while 10.9 per cent. more are

TABLE XIII—LENGTH OF PASTORS' EXPERIENCE IN SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Number of Years' Experience</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors</i>
Less than 10	28.9
Less than 5	11.4
5-9	17.5
10-19	26.5
20-29	28.4
30-39	11.9
40 and over	4.3

* 211 pastors reporting.

college graduates. As between the subtypes, B III, whose program inclines toward novelty, has a very high proportion of post-graduate pastors, constituting two-fifths of the total. It is an interesting question how far youth and advanced education on the part of leaders may go toward explaining the characteristics of the subtype.

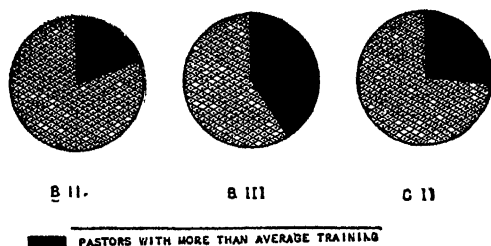


CHART XVI

Proportion of Pastors of Slightly Adapted Churches Who Have More Than Average Theological Training, by Subtypes.

An inspection of the schedules reveals frequent cases in which some unusually enterprising pastor has pushed his church out beyond the natural boundaries of its type in the direction of his special interests or enthusiasms.

Forty-three and five-tenths per cent. of the pastors of slightly adapted churches have been in their present positions between two and five years, and comparatively few maintain themselves as long as ten years in one place. The distribution is as follows: ⁹

⁹ Appendix Table 14.

TABLE XIV—LENGTH OF PASTORS' SERVICE IN PRESENT POSITION IN SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Number of Years</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors</i>
Under 10	85.3
Under 2	24.9
2-4	43.5
5-9	16.9
10-19	10.7
20-29	1.8
30 and over	2.2

* 225 pastors reporting.

The most frequent salary that the slightly adapted church pays its pastor is between one and two thousand dollars, apart from parsonage, concerning which no adequate information was received.¹⁰ Table XV shows the distribution by amount of cash salary. Less

TABLE XV—SALARIES OF PASTORS OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors</i>
Under \$1,000	3.9
Under \$500	0.7
\$1,000 to \$2,000	33.2
\$2,000 to \$3,000	24.5
\$3,000 to \$4,000	14.7
\$4,000 to \$5,000	8.0
\$5,000 to \$6,000	6.6
\$6,000 to \$7,000	4.5
\$7,000 to \$8,000	2.8
Over \$8,000	1.8

* 286 pastors reporting.

than one-fourth of the entire number of pastors receive more than \$4,000.

THE MALE ASSISTANT

Compared with the pastor, the assistant male worker is naturally younger and less experienced. At the other extreme, however, the ranks of male assistants include a large proportion of men of over thirty years' experience (constituting about one-fourth of the total), which shows that elderly ministers continue as associates beyond the age at which they can command pulpits.

¹⁰ Appendix Table 15. Of city churches reporting to the United States Census of Religious Bodies in 1916, 35.8 per cent. had parsonages. In expense budgets of city families of moderate means rent averages from 15 to 20 per cent. of the total. The total value of salaries should, therefore, be increased in about this proportion for those who have parsonages in addition to cash remuneration.

The education of the male assistant varies strikingly from that of the pastor—there being a much larger proportion of college men without seminary training and a somewhat larger number of non-college men. As in the case of pastors, Subtype B III shows the largest proportion of assistants with post-graduate training. The male assistant's tenure is briefer than that of the pastor and his salary is smaller. Over one-half receive less than \$2,000, while \$4,000 is virtually the upper limit. Of approximately one-sixth receiving less than \$1,000 a large proportion are doubtless unmarried men in their first apprenticeships.¹¹

THE FEMALE ASSISTANT

More than half of the female assistants have had less than five years' experience in paid religious work, with fifteen years as the upward limit for churches of this type.

Somewhat less than one-half are college graduates, and nearly one-ninth of the total have had post-graduate or other advanced education; while the remainder are only high-school graduates. Half of them have been less than two years in their present positions and nineteen out of twenty less than five years. Four-fifths of their salaries are under \$1,500, with from \$1,000 to \$1,500 strongly characteristic. In brief, the woman employed as a church worker in this type of city church has little experience, exceedingly brief tenure and small pay, in spite of a high average degree of education, but an education showing little professional specialization.¹²

CURRENT EXPENSES

The annual cost of current church support and operation in the slightly adapted city church averages about \$10,000, but the amount most frequently falls between \$2,000 and \$3,000, and for two-thirds of the churches the annual cost is less than \$10,000, as shown in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI—CURRENT EXPENSES OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
Under \$5,000	43.8
Under \$1,000	1.5
\$1,000 to \$2,000	11.4
\$2,000 to \$3,000	13.9
\$3,000 to \$4,000	10.2
\$4,000 to \$5,000	6.8
\$5,000 to \$10,000	22.5
\$10,000 to \$15,000	9.6
\$15,000 to \$20,000	9.6
\$20,000 to \$25,000	5.6
\$25,000 to \$50,000	7.4
\$50,000 and over	1.5

* 324 churches reporting.

¹¹ Appendix Tables 16-19.

¹² Appendix Tables 20-23.

The per capita cost of the slightly adapted church averages \$17.96, and the differences between the subtypes become exceedingly instructive. While Subtype C I, with its churches much larger on the average, tends to cost more per church, its per capita cost is only \$17.06, or ninety cents below the average; while the per capita cost of churches in Subtype B III is \$22.75, or \$4.79 above the average, this making it one of the most expensive of the seventeen subtypes. This high per capita cost reflects the high cost of novelty of program coupled with institutional instability by which the subtype is strongly marked.¹³

BENEVOLENCES

Of the slightly adapted churches, 37.7 per cent. give less than \$1,000 per year to benevolences, and 66.2 per cent. less than \$5,000. Benevolences show no strong tendency to any particular amount, but nearly half of the churches of Subtype C I give in excess of \$5,000 annually, whereas only a little more than one-fourth of the churches of the other types reach this level.

Benevolent gifts per capita also show striking contrasts. The average of the type is \$12.14, but the churches of Subtype B III

TABLE XVII—EQUIPMENT FACILITIES OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
Under 5	16.6
5-9	47.1
10-14	29.1
15-19	7.2
20 and over	—

* 278 churches reporting.

give but \$9.94 per capita as compared with \$15.17 for those of Subtype C I. Novelty of program coupled with institutional instability registers in lack of resources to meet external and general needs, while conservatism of program with economy of per capita operating costs leaves more for such needs. Of the seventeen subtypes, C I and E I have the highest rate of benevolence.¹⁴ This looks as though the best place to get money for Christian enterprises elsewhere is in the church which attempts nothing unusual at home.

¹³ Appendix Tables 24, 24a and 25.

¹⁴ Appendix Tables 25, 26 and 26a.

EQUIPMENT

Of twenty-five equipment facilities for administration, education, publicity and service as listed on the schedule, the slightly adapted church strongly tends to have only from five to nine. The distribution of equipment facilities is given in Table XVII.¹⁵

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN CHURCH BUILDINGS

The slightly adapted church is most likely to have from five to nine rooms. The distribution of number of rooms is given in Table XVIII.¹⁶

TABLE XVIII—NUMBER OF ROOMS IN SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
Under 10	46.3
Under 5	17.5
1	3.7
2	4.4
3	6.3
4	3.1
5-9	28.8
10-19	33.1
20-29	16.2
30 and over	4.4

* 160 churches reporting.

SEATING CAPACITY OF AUDITORIUMS

The returns on this point are given in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX—SEATING CAPACITY OF AUDITORIUMS OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Number of Sitzings</i>	
	<i>Average</i>	<i>Median</i>
All Slightly Adapted	568	450
B II	466	400
B III	504	425
C I	730	600

* 257 churches reporting.

It will be noted that Subtype C I greatly exceeds the characteristic level of the type measured either by the average or by the median, while Subtype B III is considerably below it.¹⁷

¹⁵ Appendix Table 27.

¹⁶ Appendix Table 28.

¹⁷ Appendix Table 30.

VALUE OF CHURCH PLANT

This item also was measured both by the average and the median for the type and its subtypes.¹⁸

TABLE XX—VALUE OF CHURCH PLANT OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Value of Plant</i>	
	<i>Average</i>	<i>Median</i>
All Slightly Adapted	\$95,113	\$39,000
B II	75,897	36,600
B III	116,393	33,000
C I	113,801	45,000

* 200 churches reporting.

The extreme costliness of a few buildings separates widely the average values of plant from the median values for the type and all its subtypes; while the unimpressive median indicates that the type has many very inexpensive structures.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

The size-range and characteristic size of the Sunday school of the slightly adapted church is made apparent through a comparison with church membership. This is shown in Table XXI.¹⁹

TABLE XXI—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES BY SIZE OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

<i>Number of Mem- bers or Pupils</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches*</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Sunday Schools†</i>
Under 500	57.0	79.5
Under 100	6.7	10.1
100 to 200	15.6	23.8
200 to 300	13.4	21.1
300 to 400	13.7	14.4
400 to 500	7.6	10.1
500 to 1,000	25.6	13.4
1,000 and over	17.4	7.1

* 328 churches reporting.

† 298 churches reporting.

The table shows strikingly that there are many more small Sunday schools than there are small churches.

Attendance averages 59 per cent. of enrollment.²⁰

¹⁸ Appendix Table 29.

¹⁹ Appendix Tables 31 and 32.

²⁰ Appendix Tables 33 and 34.

AGE OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL PUPILS

The Sunday-school pupils of the slightly adapted church are divided among age-groups as shown in Table XXII.²¹

TABLE XXII—SUNDAY-SCHOOL PUPILS BY AGE-GROUPS
IN SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES

<i>Age</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Pupils</i>
Under 6	10.5
6-14	45.8
15-20	18.2
21 and over	25.5

The Sunday school of this type is more of a children's institution and has relatively fewer adolescents than has the average city church.

CRADLE ROLLS AND HOME DEPARTMENTS

About one-third of the slightly adapted churches report cradle rolls and about one-fifth report home departments. In both of these items Subtype B III is deficient, while Subtype C I stands above the average.

SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES IN THEIR IMMEDIATE
ENVIRONMENTS

Data concerning general environment were obtained from 124 out of the 360 slightly adapted churches. Of these, 43.5 per cent. were located at or immediately adjoining the central business section of the city, or at a sub-center commanding a population of 100,000 people or more; while 56.5 per cent. were in residential areas.²²

THE CENTRAL CHURCHES

Of the fifty-four centrally located churches thirty-one were at the great downtown centers of cities, while eight were at, and fifteen near, minor centers. But a much larger proportion of the churches of Subtype B III—more than three-quarters—were at major centers, while the same proportion of C I churches were at minor centers. This squares with the fact discovered earlier, that the former churches have not moved so frequently as the latter. They tend rather to have stuck where they were—downtown.

²¹ Appendix Tables 35 and 35a.

²² Appendix Tables 37 and 38a.

Again, twenty-five of the centrally located churches were judged, upon first-hand study of the field, to be strategically located with respect to their more distant constituencies; as, for example, by reason of good street-car connections and attractive surroundings. Nine were non-strategically located and five doubtful. But more than three-quarters of the churches of Subtype C I were put in the strategic class and nearly three-fourths of the churches of Subtype B III in the non-strategic or doubtful. The churches of Subtype B III, in other words, have stuck to their old locations to their present disadvantage.

In quality of environment, the central churches were classified as follows:²³

<i>Quality</i>	<i>Number</i>
High grade	11
Medium grade	20
Low grade	8
Transient	2
Industrial	4
Slum	2

Slightly adapted churches in residential areas were found located in middle-class neighborhoods in forty out of seventy cases. As judged by the surveyors, there were fourteen of them in high-class neighborhoods to sixteen in industrial or foreign neighborhoods. It is thus primarily a middle-class type.²⁴

DISTANCE OF MEMBERS' HOMES FROM CHURCH BUILDING

For sixty-seven slightly adapted churches studied in this aspect the following situation was disclosed:

<i>Per Cent. of Members Living Within One Mile</i>	<i>Parish Designation</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>
75 and over	Compact	37
50-74	Medium	17
25-49	Scattered	12
Less than 25	Very scattered	1

More than half of the churches of this type have three-fourths or more of their members living within one mile of the church. As defined by the study²⁵ such parishes are called "compact." Only twelve churches have scattered parishes and only one a very scattered parish. Thus, so far as the evidence goes, the slightly adapted church draws most of its constituency from near at hand.

²³ Appendix Tables 38b and 38c.

²⁴ Appendix Table 39a.

²⁵ See p. 253.

There is a great difference in this respect between the centrally located churches of the type and the residential ones. Out of twenty-five of the former, only seven have compact parishes, while out of forty-two of the latter, thirty have compact parishes.²⁸

DIRECTION OF MEMBERS' HOMES FROM THE CHURCH

Church members do not distribute themselves equally about their church. Forty-six slightly adapted churches were studied in this

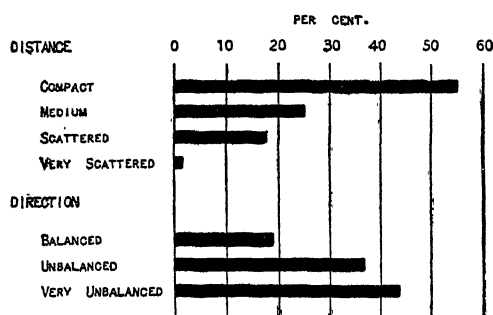


CHART XVII

Per Cent. Distribution of Types of Parishes of Slightly Adapted Churches, by Distance and Direction.

aspect of parish geography; the percentage of members living North, South, East and West, respectively, being measured and designated according to the method explained on page 255. The following results were found:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>
Normally balanced parish	9
Unbalanced parish	17
Very unbalanced parish	20

It is a striking discovery that in most of the parishes of this type of city church the location of members with respect to the church building is so highly unbalanced. Their distribution probably reflects and follows either some general drift of population within a given city or one peculiar to a given racial or other parochial constituency.

All told, the slightly adapted church group does not show any exclusive tendency toward a particular type of environment. Only

²⁸ Appendix Tables 41 and 42.

a few more are residentially located than centrally. They tend slightly to medium grade environments though showing a good many examples in both high-, and low-grade environments. They do, however, incline quite strongly to have compact parishes as measured by distance, but decidedly unbalanced ones measured by the direction of the members' homes from the church building.²⁷

Larger Environments and Relationships

The most general aspects of the investigation of city churches concerned the regional, racial and denominational tendencies of the several types and their relation to the size of cities.

The evolution of the city church more frequently stops with the rather limited program implied by the slightly developed type in the South and West than in the North and East. The churches of this type constitute 34.5 per cent. of the 1,044 sample churches, but they constitute 39.2 per cent. of the sample from western cities and 40.4 per cent. of the sample from southern ones.²⁸

As between the subtypes, the cities of the North Central states excel the rest of the country in the proportion of churches belonging to the adventurous Subtype B III, while the South has few churches of this type, but many of the conservative Subtype C I.

EFFECT OF SIZE OF CITY

In the 1,044 cases studied, slightly adapted churches are relatively more frequent in cities of 250,000 to 750,000 population than in smaller cities or in the very largest ones as shown by the comparison in Table XXIII.²⁹

TABLE XXIII—RATIO OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCHES TO TOTAL CHURCHES IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE

<i>Population of City</i>	<i>Ratio of Slightly Adapted Churches to all Churches</i>
100,000 to 250,000	33.3
250,000 to 500,000	39.9
500,000 to 750,000	38.2
750,000 to 1,000,000	28.5
1,000,000 and over	27.6
All cities	34.5

An explanation of this phenomenon is attempted in a later connection.³⁰

²⁷ Appendix Tables 43 and 44.

²⁸ Appendix Table 47.

²⁹ See Appendix Table 46.

³⁰ See p. 282.

RACIAL AND DENOMINATIONAL AFFINITIES

Since it is the most representative American church as judged by the sample, and builds most squarely upon the national tradition, the slightly adapted type naturally is not characteristic of foreign-speaking churches of recent urban immigrants. For example, it is notably deficient in churches of southern Europeans.

On the other hand, this type is well distributed denominationally. All the major denominations except one have approximately the same proportion of slightly adapted churches that they have of all churches, as is shown in the comparison in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV—DISTRIBUTION OF SLIGHTLY ADAPTED AND ALL CHURCHES BY DENOMINATIONS

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	
	<i>Total Churches Studied</i>	<i>Slightly Adapted Churches</i>
Baptist	15.8	15.9
Congregational	10.5	12.5
Disciples	4.4	3.6
Methodist Episcopal	19.3	14.7
Methodist Episcopal South	3.7	3.9
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	17.3	19.7
Protestant Episcopal	10.5	10.3
Lutheran (all bodies)	4.4	5.8
All others	14.1	13.6

The Methodist Episcopal and Lutheran denominations constitute exceptions to the general tendency, the former having fewer slightly adapted churches and the latter more.³¹

Divergent Tendencies of Subtypes

Recalling that Subtype B III is a development of program in the direction of novelty, and that Subtype C I represents development in the direction of usual activities, the following list of their divergent tendencies from the average of the slightly adapted type proves significant:

<i>Divergent Aspect</i>	<i>Subtype B III</i>	<i>Subtype C I</i>
Size	Somewhat more very small churches	Many more very large churches
Age	Fewer young churches	More old churches
Permanence	Slightly more permanent	More permanent
Staff number	Slightly fewer multiple staffs	Many more multiple staffs
Staff functions	Narrow—variety in functions of assistants	More variety in functions of assistants
Pastor's experience	More young men, fewer elderly ones	Fewer young men, more elderly ones
Pastor's tenure in present position	Somewhat shorter	Appreciably longer

³¹ Appendix Table 45.

<i>Divergent Aspect</i>	<i>Subtype B III</i>	<i>Subtype C I</i>
Pastor's salary	More small salaries	More large salaries
Per capita current expenses	More than type-average	Slightly less than type-average
Per capita benevolences	Much less than type-average	Much more than type-average
Number of facilities	Many more with many facilities	Fewer with few facilities
Rooms in church	More small church buildings	More large church buildings
Seating capacity of auditorium	Slightly smaller than average	One-third larger than average
Value church plant	Slightly below median	Slightly above median
Sunday school enrollment	More smaller, fewer large, schools	Larger schools
Age of pupils	More children, fewer adolescents	Fewer children, more adults
Location	Fewer in central, more in residential, districts	More in central, fewer in residential, districts
Advantageous location of central churches	Fewer strategically located	More strategically located
Quality of neighborhood of residential church	Fewer middle-class, more industrial and foreign	More high class

The two subtypes agree in being on the whole older and more permanent in their present locations than the average of the type.

Summarizing separately for each: Subtype B III is slightly but somewhat definitely beyond the average on the following items: variety of staff functions, proportion of young pastors and tendency to location in residential and in foreign and industrial districts.

Subtype B III is considerably below the average on the following items: membership size, length of pastor's tenure, per capita gifts for benevolences, character of plant judged by the size of the building, capacity of the auditorium and the money value; also in Sunday-school enrollment and in the proportion of adolescents in the Sunday school. Its central churches decidedly lack strategic location.

The only factor in which it is decidedly beyond the average is the number of facilities with which it does its work. This suggests a tendency to try to substitute an advantage in small and incidental matters for great and fundamental deficiencies.

The pastors of this type receive about average salaries and their education is typical.

Most of the above characteristics suggest attenuation of effort, institutional instability and less than average success.

All told, however, the deficiencies of Subtype B III are not very great or radical.

Subtype C I is definitely beyond the average of the type in respect to length of tenure of its pastors, size and value of its church buildings, the number of facilities and the Sunday-school enrollment.

It is below average in proportion of young pastors and number of churches in residential location. In other words, it tends to

choose men of long experience and its churches are more often found in central locations.

This subtype is decisively above the average on the following items: size of church membership, frequency of multiple staffs, variety of staff functions, proportion of large salaries, per capita expenditures for benevolences, capacity of the auditorium, proportion of adults in the Sunday school and frequency in high-class residential environment.

All told, the departures of Subtype C I from the average of the type are greater and more significant than those of Subtype B III. They concern very substantial qualities, the possession of which marks institutional success.

The general features of the slightly adapted church as above depicted bear a close resemblance to the generalized picture of the city church derived from the total number of churches studied.³² This was obviously inevitable, since the modal average represented by the slightly adapted church must come somewhere near the arithmetical average of the total number of churches.

³² See p. 205.

Chapter VI

INTERPRETING THE SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCH

It remains now to explain in terms of the dominating hypothesis why the largest and most representative group found within the sample of 1,044 city churches should be as it is.

The slightly adapted church is a slight departure from its rural prototype and a slight response to the challenge of the city. For the most part it drifts forward unconscious of any new principle. It feels that the urban civilization demands something more of it, but it does not know exactly what. It instinctively desires to live up to the requirements of the city, but it does not clearly see what these requirements are.

This church, however, is able to do a little more than its rural prototype. Its advantage is expressed in larger budgets, more extensive plants¹ and more full-time workers than the town church has. It has additional wealth which can be drawn upon for the expansion of its program.

The first form which this expansion takes is suggested in the following example.

Case I—Subtype B II

This case illustrates very fairly the changes which come to many a rural church located on the edges of a growing city. The main growth of this particular city has been in an opposite direction, but during forty years of moderate expansion it has finally built up solidly about the church until the whole contiguous area is urbanized.

Responding to this process, the church evolved normally out of the rural stage into the first stage of urban character. As at present developed, it corresponds somewhat closely to the modal church of the 1,044 samples. In addition to the range of purely conventional activities inherited from the past, it has a graded Sunday school, a Junior Christian Endeavor Society, a mission study class and Boy Scouts.

It has 211 members. Its college- and seminary-trained pastor receives a salary of \$1,600. Its parish is strongly localized. Its Sunday school (of 319 pupils) is considerably larger than the church membership, and, there being no rival churches in the immediate vicinity, the Sunday school takes on a broadly neighborhood character. It is unusually strong in adolescent and adult members and has an excellent average attendance of 185.

The total operating budget in the recent past has been about \$1,900, or a little more than \$9 per capita, which is an exceedingly modest scale of operation and considerably below the average of the type. Benevo-

¹ Morse & Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, p. 140.

lence for the last reported year was only \$35. The old building, seating 250 and valued at \$6,000, has recently been moved a short distance to a spacious lot where it is being remodeled as a parish house adjoining a new structure.

This case was selected by an experienced Church Federation secretary as the most nearly "average" church in his city.

That the church has not evolved further may be due to the fact that, even when a city is well on toward its second quarter million of population, it does not always exercise a strong urbanizing pull upon its outlying churches. Church life, in this instance, is extremely centralized, as is the whole urban social structure. The city is surprisingly devoid of minor centers and maintains an exceptionally strong group of central institutions, including several very large downtown churches. Under such conditions, outlying churches merely emerge a little distance from the rural phase and stand for years midway between their original character and the more intensified forms of urban church life.

In its enlarged and more commodious building this church may simply settle down into just a little more developed type of traditional neighborhood service; or else, sensing the prospect of a future minor urban center in its vicinity (opposite the future site of the local university and on the railroad and street-car lines), it may endeavor to prepare itself in advance for a more intensive type of urban service, with an all-around program for its constituency. It is a church in slow yet genuine evolution. Its admittedly ordinary character may be its permanent level of urban adaptation or a transitional phase on the road to a more distinctively city type.

INSTITUTIONAL EMBELLISHMENT AND DENOMINATIONAL TRADITION

The advancement shown in the program of such a church as has been described above may be generalized as follows: There comes first a series of minor embellishments, of which the chorus choir is an example, while the general social life of the church also receives something of an impetus. In these first slight aspects of development probably only the more general urban influences play a part, as when the challenge of competition, to which nearly all Protestant churches are subject, naturally makes them try to imitate successful churches that are not too far ahead in development.

Again, the church may respond to pressure from above. The administrative organizations of its denomination usually wish to develop it within traditional, rather than distinctively urban, lines; yet they wish it to be developed so that they may use it, especially as a source of benevolent contributions. It has already been shown that, on the whole, the best church from which to get money to use somewhere else is the one that is doing nothing very original at home.² The instinct of the denomination is, therefore, to push the church forward a little into a traditional and docile program. Its slightly exaggerated town standards which dominate the working

² See p. 105.

ideals of most denominations, just about fit in with the first degree of city development. Denominational loyalty is a simpler and older motive than genuine urban adaptation and the first response of the church is, therefore, often to be explained by these appeals in the direction of a slightly adapted program.

Case II—Subtype B II

This is a very satisfactory example of an average church marching straight along in step with the later growth of a well-known New England city—a church that has reached a modal stage of development primarily through docility.

For a hundred years following the founding of its first industrial suburb, the city was occupied in filling in the spaces between it and the original center. Having thus very gradually consolidated its population, it began in the early 'eighties a trickle of outward development which swelled into the main current of growth.

At the outset it was a movement of industrial population, to serve which a Congregational mission was opened in a private dwelling house in 1881, as a branch of an older church. In 1884 a tiny chapel was erected for the mission. In 1888 it was recognized as independent and built a modest frame building, seating 350 in the auditorium, to which the old chapel was attached. A higher class residential development later came to parallel the original industrial class movement, and finally completely bordered the southern side of the parish.

The church has reflected the modest opportunities thus presented. Originated by denominational initiative, it has always tended to be standardized. Needing and expecting financial assistance for the future, it is characteristically anxious to please. It has been docile and attentive, the perfect mirror of a good little church.

Its program now begins to look in the direction of internal elaboration, but its resources and equipment and the character of its membership have not allowed development equal to that of most of the churches growing up in the same section of the city within the same period. It has a fully graded Sunday school of 423 members, greatly hampered by narrow quarters. The Sunday school has an average attendance of 278, a well-organized cradle roll and home department and a teachers' training class. There are also a Men's Brotherhood, Boy Scouts and a Sunday-school orchestra. The church is extremely systematic in business and bookkeeping and participates loyally in all denominational and local movements.

The leaders of the church consist largely of junior officers of city business and financial institutions or salaried men connected with transportation or industry. The masses of its membership are clerical and high-grade industrial workers. Although unbalanced to the southeast, the parish is extremely compact, 73 per cent. of its 355 members living within one-half mile and 94 per cent. within a mile of the church building.

The annual operating budget of the church has been about \$4,100, approximately one-tenth of which has gone for church and another tenth for the Sunday school. This has involved a per capita cost of about \$19 which approximates the average of the type. The annual benevolence is about \$700, or slightly over \$2 per capita.

The equipment of the church fairly represents the modal type and is as follows: for administration, card index of parish members; for education, stereopticon, Sunday-school maps and blackboards; for publicity, outside bulletin board; for service, kitchen and toilets. Using the athletic facilities of a near-by college, the church won the cup championship at

The outreach of the church is of the conventional sort. For example, the pastor coöperates with the Young Men's Christian Association in holding shop meetings. Besides its denominational benevolence it contributes to a local orphanage, sends books to hospitals and is counted as one of the constructive forces of the city in all helpful movements.

At the end of more than thirty years as an ordinary church, Case II is now undertaking a definite movement to relocate and equip itself for a more fully developed type of service, commensurate with the spirit and growth of the city. It finds its present site no longer at the center of its parish and naturally proposes to move in the direction of its own membership and of the city growth. At the point of convergence of important thoroughfares about one-half mile to the southeast, it has secured a lot, and it hopes, with national and local denominational assistance, to erect a \$100,000 church, furnishing facilities for an elaborated program.

This removal, it is expected, will also enable the church to command a somewhat higher class constituency from an economic standpoint.

So far the story of this church has been that of a very typical evolution and it will be entirely natural if the stage of its Pilgrim's Progress, to which it is now looking forward, should bring it into a more complete version of urban adaptation and service.

Case I and Case II both substantiate the generalization of Chapter III. The urban church has received from its rural heritage a tendency to increase and differentiate subsidiary organizations for the age-, and sex-groups, somewhat in proportion to the complexity of the social community in which it exists. Open country, village, town and small city are successive steps in such development, and rather short steps at that. Naturally, then, the ordinary city church will be expected to show some little further advance in this direction, together with some reflection of more varied interests in the realms of culture and recreation. Thus, in slight beginnings, even the slightly adapted church manifestly begins to reflect the city.

THE AVERAGE CHURCH MILDLY ADVENTUROUS

As shown by Table V, Subtype B III substitutes a "small-broad" program for a "small-medium" one. This means that it departs from the modal type in the direction of novelty of program. Of course such a change might occur without any objective shifting of the elements of church structure, merely in response to a progressive idea. But dealing with subtypes as groups, rather than with individual cases, one learns to look for a concomitant change either in the strength of the church or in its environment which tends to explain the change in program. And since, in the case of this subtype, it is definitely known that it is not accompanied by any radical change in internal proportions, it is probably safe to presume that its newly outstanding characteristics are caused by special environmental pressure. As has been shown, these churches have largely stuck to their original locations. They are frequently located in

industrial surroundings or disadvantageously at the downtown centers, but sometimes in "good" residential districts. In any case they have undoubtedly experienced special stress and difficulty.³ These handicaps they have attempted to meet by means of broader programs commonly undertaken without adequate resources.

Case III—Su²₁₃, e B III

An excellent example of such an over-extended church is found in a northwestern city. When the old rivalry between its east and west sides had definitely been settled against the original site of settlement and in favor of a new metropolitan center across the river, residential development began to occupy the highlands to the south, about a mile from the main business district. Here, intrenched behind a succession of parks, flourished the highest class residential development of the city for a quarter of a century; and the district still retains its quality and prestige. The choicest homes of the city now spread out beyond it, to "the Lakes."

During the years when the leading churches of the city were still prosperous on the edges of the downtown center, smaller neighborhood organizations sprang up in this newer part of the city. One of these was a Congregational church, with a middle-class constituency, which for twenty-one years now has occupied its present site slightly in rear of the mansions on the crest of the hill, but in the direct line of population movement.

But in a growing city nothing stands still. Within the last decade, expansion of business and industry at the heart of the downtown district has driven a group of the strongest churches to seek new locations. Several of them have naturally hit upon the slopes of the "Hill" section which now constitutes the aristocratic outpost of the residential area. Here these leading churches have made a second stand where they can still maintain their old prestige as central institutions. And, as in parallel cases in nearly every important city, their coming has greatly diminished the prospects of the group of weaker local churches which have grown up with the neighborhood.

The present status and work of Case III show what happens in many similar cases. Competitive pressure reduces the resources of the old church and, consequently, forces it to undertake novelties in an attempt to meet the competition. These influences have almost naïve expression in the prospectus recently issued by the church in question. Eight months ago, it states, its situation was regarded by many as hopeless. The present program is definitely experimental; essentially an effort to rescue the situation by intensified financial expenditure and high-pressure work. The pastor's report at the end of eight months narrates ten experiments which are under way. All told, they simply indicate the effort of a church with somewhat feeble resources to approximate the all-around program of the internally adapted type. Boys' and girls' and young people's work have all taken on specialized forms and the minister has received an allowance for automobile maintenance in order to carry on an intensive pastoral and financial campaign. The organization of a boys' radio club speaks eloquently of the trend toward up-to-date novelties; while the designation of a young people's society as the "Sky Rocket Society" strikes one as just a bit ominous in view of the fact that sky rockets come down as well as go up.

The Sunday school, of about eighty pupils, is not in keeping with the church membership of 328, most of which is actually resident in the parish. The announced objective of the church's proposed two years' campaign is to double the membership and to increase the Sunday school and

³ See pp. 356 f.; Tables 38a, b and c, and 39a and b.

young people's groups tenfold. The pastor is a young and well-educated man with five years' experience. In the face of a large and impending deficit, his salary is to be increased from \$3,000 to \$4,500. The total budget reaches more than \$11,000, two-fifths of which has to go toward a mortgage indebtedness. The church building, of rather crude colonial architecture, is valued at \$35,000 and is modestly equipped.

Allowing for various expressions of individuality and for the locality of the particular church, this case fairly represents a large number of churches which, under some pressure or other, depart from the average of the city type in the direction of the unusual.

In contrast to pressure due to the invasion of an advantageous field by stronger churches is the far more usual case of the eviction of an American population by incoming foreigners. In the face of such adverse change churches which cannot adapt themselves fully to the situation tend to develop one-sided programs.

Case IV—Subtype B III

Thus, in the decade following 1880 no less than three denominations in a New England city started missions in what was then a promising area newly built up with American homes. One of the missions later moved out of the district; another died; while the third, which developed into full standing as a Baptist church in 1887, lives on at a "poor dying rate."

The radical changes in location of population which the city has experienced during the past forty years have nowhere been more violent than in this vicinity. They have left the church near the center of the most distinctly foreign area, close to the heart of the Ghetto and surrounded by the swarming habitations shared by Jews, Poles and Negroes, with the main Greek and Syrian colonies of the city in close proximity.

Although its Sunday school has slightly gained in the last years, the church has inevitably lost ground. Its present financial receipts are not more than two-thirds enough to maintain previous standards of church life. It is thus left to face a most depressing social environment with depleted resources. Its membership, now registered at 286, is about modal for its city; but its religious services have relatively small attendance and its total service-program is considerably below the natural level of its membership-size. Its Sunday school, with an attendance of about 125, is strong in adolescents. The pastor's salary and the budget of operating expenses are again below the normal level of a church of this sort; though its building, a rather unprepossessing frame structure of thirteen rooms (remodeled after a fire in 1904), has more varied facilities and is somewhat more valuable than the average house of worship in the city. Its equipment makes fair provision for simple educational work and for visual instruction, but has nothing specifically designed for community service. It is also distinctly deficient in facilities for publicity and popular appeal.

The work of the church remains mainly conventional, keyed to the remnant of rather humble Protestant families who occupy the fringes of the neighborhood.

It has a very compact parish, 77 per cent. of its following living within one-half mile of the church, though the remainder, including most of the competent leadership, is widely scattered throughout the city.

Its pastor, however, is actively and responsibly interested in community welfare, in touch with localized social problems and agencies and active in denominational and interdenominational work. He has conducted successive campaigns of street evangelization in the heart of the

foreign quarter (in coöperation with the Young Men's Christian Association), maintains through the church an active employment service, and disburses a relatively large amount of charitable relief. The church is thus responding to its local situation just enough to attenuate its program, but not enough to transform it.

Its most promising adaptation is in the service of childhood. About two-thirds of the members of the "Junior Achievement" clubs held in this church are children of Roman Catholic parentage, while one-sixth are children of Jewish parentage. A small Russian congregation is denominationally fostered and shares the use of the church building.

More than any other in its city, Case IV illustrates a church maintaining Protestantism in an 'alien environment, though with manifestly inadequate resources and numerically declining strength. Herein it represents the fortunes of a large group of partially stranded, yet struggling, organizations, scattered throughout the cities of America.

REMNANTS OF FORMER GLORY

In certain churches of this group the factor of retrogression is still more spectacularly present. Churches decay as well as develop. Sometimes churches decline gradually and irregularly, till what is left is but a fragment of its former self. Their lopsided present program may be the remnant of a more complete one of the past. They show the raggedness of institutional decrepitude. Though the history of most of the cases under consideration has not been studied in detail, their present environment makes it virtually certain that they have had unstable and frequently changing constituencies. What one finds, when he suddenly steps into the situation and analyzes the current program of activities, is a group of remnants poorly fitted together and symptomatic of age and failure. "How are the mighty fallen!" Such a tragedy is illustrated by a church whose pulpit was made famous by one of the most original and outstanding religious leaders of the last generation.

Case V—Subtype B III

In comparison with its other activities no other church in the city so greatly over-emphasizes the preaching function as this church does. This is partly due to its downtown location and its historic tradition, but is also the mark of an unequal decline of functions. While the city has doubled its population in twenty years, the church has suffered a continuous decrease in membership, showing the highest ratio of losses to gains of any church for which local records were available. Because it is a downtown church as well as a declining one, it is relatively deficient in Sunday-school enrollment, the ratio of pupils to church membership being the third from the smallest in the city. Its small nominal increase in financial resources is not more than one-fifth enough to keep the church on its actual former economic level.

A present membership of 467 makes the church rank in size in the

upper third of churches of the city. It is unusual, however, for so large a church to have no paid worker except the pastor. As a result the pastor's salary accounts for 58 per cent. of the total church budget, whereas, in other churches of comparable size, that item represents not more than one-third or even one-fifth or one-sixth of the budget. The benevolence of this church is very small. Its property, valued at \$65,000, includes one of the most churchly and beautiful auditoriums of the city, but facilities for religious education and social life are relatively limited. The total program of service amounts to an average of seven and eight-tenths hours per month per member, which is below the city average of between ten and eleven hours.

This is all that is left of a church distinguished in its generation for broad vision and wide activity. The church is nevertheless strongly entrenched in the city. Only two others have more widely scattered memberships. It has large groups of adherents on the "south side" and on the "Hill" and nearly as many members in the downtown section as its more prosperous near neighbors. It has the backing of a small invested fund, and in its children's organizations is making some progress in increasing contacts with the newer populations of its neighborhood.

This would seem to be the point of most fruitful possibility for enlarged service. The church is surrounded by boarding houses occupied by transient Americans and overlooks the valley up which Italian settlement is rapidly moving. From the standpoint of an immediately surrounding American constituency its position is becoming less tenable. If, however, while maintaining its conspicuous pulpit ministries, it could bring itself to undertake whole-heartedly a program definitely adapted to the new foreign elements in the near vicinity, it might render a distinctive service to the community as well as discover a new motive for existence.

Considering the data in the light of these examples, one sees that the churches of Subtype B III are characteristically under extraordinary environmental pressure. They are forced thereby to extend themselves; yet are not strong enough to overcome adverse conditions entirely, nor to achieve fully the rounded development of the next higher type. Or else they are remnants of the past, churches which have fallen back from what they once were and did. Either going or coming, they are transitional. Their proved instability is not normal nor wholesome. Their response to the city is not complete enough to be strikingly significant. They should either muster enough resources to carry themselves over into a fully elaborated program or else should retain a more consistent and usual version of conventional development.

THE AVERAGE CHURCH TURNED CONSERVATIVE (C I)

Environmentally speaking, the churches of this subtype were found in the main to be fortunately located. When, in addition, the general advantages of larger size, staff, plant and resources are taken into consideration, one finds a very complete explanation of this subtype. It is primarily the more conventional variety of the typical church fallen upon easy circumstances.⁴ Sometimes denomi-

⁴ See p. 112.

national conservatism tips the scales in the same direction, as with an occasional Scotch Presbyterian church in the liberal atmosphere of New England.

Again, the explanation of the tendencies of this type may be an abnormal distribution of constituents with respect to age. In Los Angeles, a city in which the disproportionate number of elderly people is plainly revealed by the Census, a church of this type found that 80 per cent. of its families had no children under nineteen years of age. Those that had young children averaged only one and six-tenths per family. It is not strange that a church so composed should have less "doing" than the average one of its size and strength.

Case VI—Subtype C I

This is a case of a church on "Easy Street" in a sheltered residential suburb of New York. It illustrates the favoring conditions that foster this subtype. The church's forty years of life have shown continuous and almost inevitable growth, as block after block of superior homes have built up about it. The present membership is nearly one thousand, worshipping in an edifice of rustic Norman architecture set in a spacious lawn and worth some \$300,000. Its annual local budget is about \$25,000 and it is accustomed to give perhaps \$35,000 more to various benevolences.

Forty years ago the suburb developed out of the Dutch countryside as an intimate community where adventurous young families from the city crowded into school children's desks in a one-room batted school house for church services. It is now a "bosses" suburb where four-fifths of the commuters are employed in some executive capacity. Its own children cannot afford to make homes there and have to move away when they marry. "It isn't etiquette to ask one's business here," a Western visitor explained with some dismay. "He might be a bootlegger." Men are anonymous in the creative and achieving half of their lives.

Under these circumstances ordinary community functions and relationships are much distorted. For example, it is not a good library town. The librarian complains that people are unwilling to use books to which others have access. If they want them they buy or rent them themselves. Even the movies do not flourish. As the disappointed theater manager explains, "It takes apartments to furnish movie audiences." This suburb of privileged people living in single-family houses, with the city easily accessible, asks for a full round of near-at-hand institutions, but does not ask much of them when it gets them. People go to the city for their larger satisfactions, except golf and motoring.

In such a "dormitory" community, used chiefly for play and sleep, what kind of a church will one find? Not exactly an ordinary one—people are too intelligent and well-to-do for that; yet not an original one. What they want is a magnified institution of a conventional sort—distinguished preaching, chorus choir in vestments, Tiffany windows—and this is what they get. The Sunday school is relatively small, but they hire a director of religious education. There are Boy Scouts. Missionary organizations flourish. The fortunes of the young people's work are, however, kaleidoscopic. Men's fellowship is expressed in outings and golf tournaments rather than in a sharing of serious outlooks upon life.

It would be a great mistake, however, to doubt the genuine religious uses of such a church or the sincerity of its people. They take religion seriously just as they take family life and recreation, largely divorcing

all three from the more aggressive aspects of existence. Organized service to mankind is primarily something to be bought and paid for through benevolent contributions. The church genuinely functions as a guide to sane and constructive thinking and as a somewhat indirect interpreter of practice in the practical sphere. In a busy and crowded world with vast stretches of weariness and defeat at the bottom of it, it offers its indispensable ministries of consolation and quiet.

One generally can discern in such a church an exact working out of whatever minor elements distinguish its particular situation, within the limitations of the general tradition. As a type it is opulent; yet, on account of the large average memberships involved, is financially economical. Individual cases may reach the extremes of city bigness and wealth without involving more than that minimum of adaptation to urban conditions which is inherent in the type.

Such considerations as slight urban stimulus, imitation, docility, response to environmental pressure and conventional expansion on the basis of more than average resources, appear to explain satisfactorily most of the characteristics of the "average" church of the American city.

Chapter VII

THE UNADAPTED CHURCH

The 253 churches that have a smaller number or a narrower range of activities than the modal subtype, or both, have been grouped under this designation. They constitute 24.2 per cent. of the total churches studied and are thus the second largest type.

The unadapted type includes the following subtypes:

Subtype	Type of Program by Activities		Number of Churches	Per Cent. of All Churches
	Number	Range		
A I	Smallest	— Narrowest	90	8.6
A II	Smallest	— Narrow	35	3.3
A III	Smallest	— Medium	27	2.6
B I	Small	— Narrow	101	9.7

As a whole, the type confines its program to the first seventeen organizations and activities as previously listed, but only one of the four subtypes, containing about 11 per cent. of the churches of the type, goes beyond the ninth item.

This is made plain by sample programs for five churches of each of the four subtypes in Table XXV.

TABLE XXV—SAMPLE PROGRAMS OF UNADAPTED CHURCHES

Organizations and Activities	Subtypes																				
	A I					B I					A II					A III					
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
1. Preaching and Sunday School	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					
2. Ladies' Aid or Guild ..	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*							*			*	*
3. Women's Missionary Society						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*							*
4. Young People's Society.		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
5. Chorus Choir	*	*					*	*					*				*	*	*		
6. General Social Events...	*						*	*	*	*	*										
7. Men's Organization ...							*	*	*	*	*	*							*		
8. Boy Scouts									*	*									*		
9. Mission Study Classes..							*	*			*		*	*	*						
10. Organized Welcome ...																					
11. Orchestra or Band																					
12. Boys' Club (not Scouts)																					
13. Lectures																		*	*		
14. Library																					
15. Girls' Club (not Scouts)																		*	*		
16. Concerts																		*			*
17. Girl Scouts or Equivalent																			*		
	<hr/>					<hr/>					<hr/>					<hr/>					
	4	3	4	4	4	6	7	8	6	7	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
	125																				

CHARACTERISTICS AND VARIATIONS OF PROGRAM

How the churches of the unadapted type as a whole differ from the slightly adapted churches is shown in the following comparison:

<i>Types</i>	<i>Range of Program</i>	<i>Per Cent. Range of Frequency of Least Frequent Group</i>	<i>Range of Number of Activities</i>
Slightly Adapted	Items 1-22	11-20	5-12
Unadapted	Items 1-17	21-40	1-8

This comparison means that the unadapted churches have one-third fewer activities than slightly adapted churches and that there are five fewer items from which to select their activities.

As noted by the sample church programs, the churches of Subtype A I are most likely to carry on four out of the first six items of program, and most frequently they select the first four in order. Even an organization so characteristic of most churches as the young people's society is not characteristic with churches of this type. All told, more are without it than have it. Thus we find here the narrowest and smallest type of city church program that exists among the established denominations of white Christians.¹

Subtype B I offers a possible eight items of program out of nine that constitute the limit of the subtype. It most frequently adds additional age-, and sex-group organizations for men or boys, with a further selection of activities suggesting the general embellishment and social development of the churches and institutions. It still keeps within a small and narrow program relative to that of the average city church, but one that may be 100 per cent. larger and 50 per cent. broader than that of Subtype A I.

The small number of churches in Subtypes A II and A III have never more than four activities, scattered in the case of the former over nine and of the latter over seventeen items of the frequency scale. The effect of making choice within these broader ranges is necessarily to leave out some of the most frequent and supposedly basic aspects of church activity. These churches attenuate their programs and get an unbalanced result as has already been shown in the corresponding subtype of the slightly adapted group.

Other Aspects of the Unadapted Church

MEMBERSHIP SIZE

The range of membership is shown for the unadapted type and its two major subtypes in the following comparison:²

¹For a discussion of still more primitive and embryonic types of religious organization among the irregular sects and emigrant Negroes, see pp. 139 f.

²Appendix Table 5.

Number of Members	Per Cent. Distribution of Churches Unadapted Type*	Subtypes	
		A I†	B I‡
Less than 500	83.5	97.4	70.1
500 to 1,000	10.4	1.3	17.5
1,000 and over	6.1	1.3	12.4

* 231 churches reporting.

† 78 churches reporting.

‡ 97 churches reporting.

It should be noted that almost all the churches of 500 members and more belong to Subtype B I, and that a significant fraction of them have more than 1,000 members.

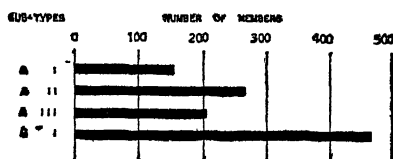


CHART XVIII

Average Size of Churches of Four Unadapted Subtypes.

There is no inherent reason why a narrow program should not go with a large church if the desires and convictions of the membership are thus limited. That large churches generally have broad programs is a point for later consideration and interpretation.

AGE AND TIME IN PRESENT LOCATION

About four out of ten unadapted churches are less than twenty-five years old, and nearly two-thirds have been located less than twenty-five years upon their present sites. One quarter of the churches of this type are fifty years old or more, and one in ten of them have occupied their present sites for that length of time.³

When this showing comes to be compared with that for the more fully developed types, it will be seen that time is a significant factor affecting the average degree of church evolution.

PAID RELIGIOUS WORKERS

More than four-fifths of all unadapted churches operate on the basis of one paid religious worker, namely, the pastor. Their distribution according to size of staff is shown in Table XXVI.⁴

³ Appendix Tables 6 and 7.

⁴ Appendix Table 9.

TABLE XXVI—PAID RELIGIOUS WORKERS IN UNADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
1	85.1
2	9.8
3	1.7
4	3.0
5 .....	....
6	0.4

* 234 churches reporting.

Among the subtypes striking differences appear. While one-fourth of churches of Subtype B I have more than one paid worker, only one in fifteen of those of Subtype A I have multiple staffs. As previously remarked with respect to membership size, there is

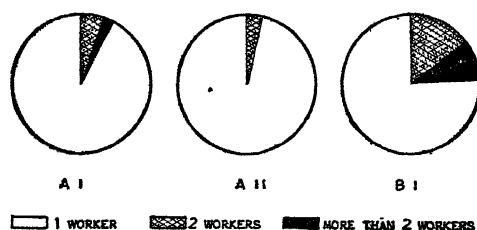


CHART XIX

Size of Staffs of Churches of Three Unadapted Subtypes.

no inherent necessity tying a narrow program to a small staff. The most meager church programs exemplified by the unadapted type include parish and Sunday-school work with the accompanying clerical and financial processes. Any church large enough to require, and wealthy enough to support, assistants for the performance of these functions may be expected to do so.⁵ Since 6 per cent. of the churches of the type have 1,000 members or more it is not strange that 5 per cent. of them have three or more paid workers.

THE PASTOR

The pastors of unadapted churches have the poorest education, the shortest experience and the briefest tenure of any group of city ministers. They also get the lowest salaries—about 70 per cent. of the total receiving \$2,000, or less, annually, while 11 per cent. receive less than \$1,000. No type, however, uses so many old men in its ministry.

⁵ For the actual distribution of twenty-one male and thirty-two female parish assistants found in the churches of this subtype, see Appendix Tables 10 and 11.

In all of these respects, save the last, the churches of Subtype A I rank lower than those of Subtype B I—thus showing that the narrowest and feeblest program commands the poorest type of men to operate it.⁶

FINANCES

The general budget of the unadapted church averages about \$3,000 annually.

The annual per capita cost of current support for the unadapted churches and their more important subtypes are as follows: unadapted, \$14.75; Subtype A I, \$16.98; Subtype B I, \$14.13. The average per capita cost of operations of all city churches is \$18.17. While, therefore, the type in general costs its individual member

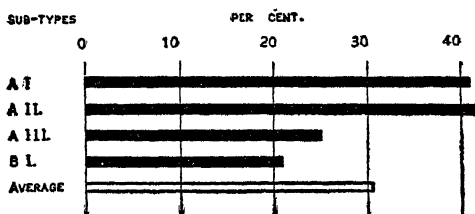


CHART XX

Per Cent. of Pastors Without Standard Theological Training in Churches of Four Unadapted Subtypes.

\$3.42 less than the average and the churches of Subtype B I are even slightly more economical, the churches of Subtype A I cost only \$1.19 less than all city churches, while their programs include not more than half as many activities and cover only one-third as broad a range, besides being administered by an inferior type of pastor. This makes the unadapted church the most expensive type of all, considering the quantity of service which this money buys. Its average benevolence is only about one-half that of city churches in general.⁷

PROPERTY

The median value of the property of the unadapted church is \$20,000, or only about one-half that of the slightly adapted church, which is \$39,000. Two-thirds of the churches of this type have fewer than ten rooms and one-third fewer than five rooms. The

⁶ Appendix Tables 12-15.

⁷ Appendix Tables 24-26a.

average number of items of service equipment is only five. The unadapted church is generally without an office, and its working facilities consist of a little Sunday-school material, a kitchen and toilets.⁸

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The average Sunday school of this type enrolls about 220 pupils. Ninety-one and eight-tenths per cent. of the Sunday schools have fewer than 500 pupils, while only 83.5 per cent. of the churches have fewer than 500 members. This indicates that the average Sunday school is even more feeble numerically than the average church of this type. Almost half of the Sunday schools of Subtype A I have fewer than one hundred pupils.

The ratio of Sunday-school pupils to church membership, however, is higher with the churches of Subtype A I, showing that even so feeble a Sunday school is relatively more important in the total life of the church than it is in more highly developed church organizations.

Many such churches have recently grown out of Sunday schools. Such a community enterprise in a Massachusetts city, still served by a non-salaried pastor and with only fifty members, enrolls more than 150 Sunday-school pupils and has a well-organized cradle roll and home department.

Sunday-school attendance averages about two-thirds of enrollment. The pupils are primarily children, the Sunday school of this type being distinctly weak in its appeal to adolescents and adults.⁹

NEIGHBORHOOD ENVIRONMENT

Only thirty-two unadapted churches were studied with respect to the character of the neighborhoods in which they were located. This number did not constitute a sufficiently large sample to permit of any reliable generalization as to the permanent environmental tendencies of the type. It is worth noting, however, that of the churches observed only one-half appeared to be strategically located with respect to the constituents which they were attempting to serve, and only two were found in high-grade neighborhoods.¹⁰

PARISH CHARACTERISTICS

Of twenty-six unadapted churches whose parishes were studied

⁸ Appendix Tables 27-29.

⁹ Appendix Tables 31-35a.

¹⁰ Appendix Tables 37-39a.

the following distribution of members according to the distance from their homes to the church building was found:

<i>Per Cent. of Members. Living Within One Mile</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>
75 and over	9
50-74	10
25-49	6
Less than 25	1

Unadapted churches, on this showing, tend strongly to have compact parishes or parishes with medium dispersal of members, rather than scattered ones. Naturally the centrally located churches show a somewhat greater tendency to draw members from unusual distances than do the residentially located ones.

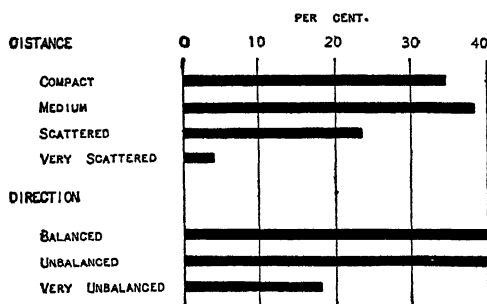


CHART XXI

Per Cent. Distribution of Types of Parishes of Unadapted Churches, by Distance and Direction.

Of twenty-two churches of this type studied with respect to the direction of their members' homes from the church building, nine were found to have a normal distribution, nine, an unbalanced distribution, and four, a very unbalanced distribution.¹¹

The majority were thus not drawing people from all directions, but exhibited distinct preferences and aversions on the part of populations living within the same distance. The nature of the barriers and deflections which produced such results is considered in a later connection.¹²

LARGER RELATIONSHIPS

Unadapted churches are found more often in the small and medium-sized cities than in the larger, though this tendency is not

¹¹ For method of measuring directional distribution, see p. 255.

¹² See p. 256. Also Appendix Tables 40-44.

invariable.¹³ They occur much more frequently in the West and in the South than in the North. While they constitute only 24.2 per cent. of the total churches, they constitute 42.1 per cent. of the foreign churches studied.¹⁴

Such churches are especially characteristic of the foreigner who has detached himself from the downtown colony of his nationality

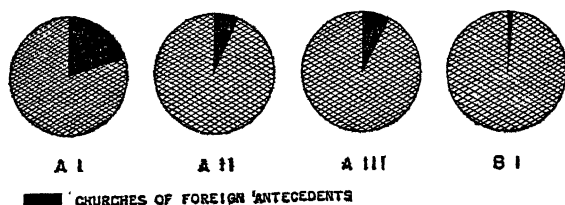


CHART XXII

Proportion of Unadapted Churches of Foreign Antecedents, by Subtypes.

to settle in small residential groups on the outskirts of cities. Under these circumstances the program of the foreign-speaking church frequently almost duplicates that of the feebler American churches. Thus, a tiny Mexican church on the edge of Los Angeles has all the outward aspects of the surrounding English-speaking family churches, maintaining an every-member canvass, using duplex col-

TABLE XXVII—DISTRIBUTION OF UNADAPTED CHURCHES BY DENOMINATIONS

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent. Total Churches Studied</i>	<i>Distribution Unadapted Churches</i>
Baptist	15.8	14.2
Congregational	10.5	7.9
Disciples	4.4	6.3
Methodist Episcopal	19.3	17.0
Methodist Episcopal South	3.7	4.8
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	17.3	12.3
Protestant Episcopal	10.5	5.5
Lutheran (all bodies)	4.4	6.3
All others	14.1	25.7

lection envelopes, and otherwise imitating current denominational standards.

Only a single foreign church, however, is found in Subtype B I. This confines the unadapted foreign churches almost exclusively to

¹³ Appendix Table 47.

¹⁴ See p. 276.

the subtypes which have the smallest possible programs, and these frequently carried out in a very unbalanced manner.¹⁵

Though the number of Negro churches involved in the study was inadequate as a basis of generalization as to the racial tendencies of the types, a relatively large number of such churches were found in the unadapted group.

DENOMINATIONAL AFFINITIES

The denominational affinities of the unadapted churches are shown in Table XXVII.¹⁶

The Methodist Episcopal and Baptist denominations are seen to bear about the same proportion to the unadapted churches as they do to the total of all churches. The Congregational and Presbyterian

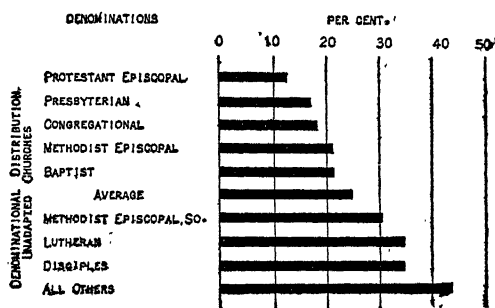


CHART XXIII

Ratio of Unadapted Churches to Total Churches in Specified Denominations.

denominations have a considerably smaller ratio, and the Protestant Episcopal denomination a very much smaller ratio of unadapted churches; while the Methodist Episcopal South denomination has a considerably larger ratio, and the Disciple and Lutheran denominations a very much larger ratio. Finally, the group of "all other" denominations shows a most excessive tendency toward churches of the unadapted type.¹⁷

The group classed as "all other" denominations is non-homogeneous and includes numerous small denominations similar in faith and government to the major denominations of the nation. It also includes some denominations ordinarily regarded as non-evangelical or peculiar, a considerable proportion of which are of recent origins. The unadapted type thus manifests a certain affinity for the small, novel and young sects.

¹⁵ See pp. 275 f.

¹⁶ Appendix Table 45.

¹⁷ For list of denominations included in this category, see p. 277.

Within the subtypes, the Baptist and "all other" denominations are found to have the greatest tendency toward the smallest and feeblest group of churches as represented by Subtype A I, while the Congregational, Disciple and Methodist Episcopal South denominations tend somewhat strongly toward churches of Subtype B I. The Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran denominations divide about equally between the two subtypes.

Divergent Tendencies of Subtypes

To illustrate more generally the range and character of divergencies within this type it will be sufficient to compare with the type-average the churches with the smallest, narrowest programs (Subtype A I) and those with small, narrow programs (Subtype B I), since the other subtypes present but few cases.

<i>Divergent Aspect</i>	<i>Subtype A I</i>	<i>Subtype B I</i>
Size	Much smaller (nearly one-half under 100 members)	Much larger (less than one-tenth under 100 members)
Age	Younger	Older
Permanence	Slightly less permanent	Much more permanent
Staff-number	7% of churches have more than one paid worker	25% of churches have more than one paid worker
Staff-functions	Only 3 types of assistants employed	13 types of assistants employed
Pastor's education	Fewer college and seminary trained	More college and seminary trained
Pastor's experience	More with brief experience	Fewer with brief experience
Pastor's tenure in present position	More with short tenure	Fewer with short tenure
Pastor's salary	86% under \$2,000	53% under \$2,000
Per capita current expenses	Much larger	Slightly smaller
Per capita benevolences	Very much smaller	Considerably larger
Number of facilities	Fewer	More
Rooms in church	Fewer	More
Seating capacity of auditorium	Much less	Much greater
Value church plant	Much less	Much greater
Sunday-school enrollment	44% under 100	8% under 100
Age of pupils	Fewer adolescents	More adolescents

These contrasts lie all in one direction. They show a clear-cut distinction between higher and lower degrees of development all along the line and would justify a strict statistical separation which, as previously explained, was ignored in grouping the two subtypes together.¹⁸

Subtype A I is much less developed than Subtype B I, and this distinction must be kept in mind in the later non-statistical interpretations of the type.

¹⁸ See p. 70.

The Ragged Edge

The preceding paragraphs have reviewed the characteristics of the city church on the lowest level of urban adaptation in which it occurs among the established denominations in America.

It is virtually certain, however, that the 1,044 cases under consideration did not actually include a proportionate number of the very smallest and feeblest examples of city churches. While the statistical count showed only one-fourth of city churches unadapted, this ratio would not hold if all organizations, however rudimentary, of obscure religious bodies that come within the sociological definition of a church, were properly counted. The study attempted to be all-inclusive, but previous experience in the intensive studies of cities has proved how difficult it is to get comparable information from Gospel Missions occupying rented halls, from transient Negro and other churches in their "store front" meeting places and from organized religious groups meeting in private homes.

Their development has scarcely reached the phase of ecclesiastical organization. Their church life is less definite and permanent than the smallest and narrowest type which can be statistically defined. Frequently they are positively opposed to institutionalism in religion.

Case VII

Opposite the peaceful public library in a western city, almost overlooking the deep gorge of the river whose falls at this point fixed the original location of the city, one hears on a summer Sunday afternoon a droning of gospel hymns. It proceeds from an inconspicuous store building. Drawing closer, one catches the strained and monotonous rise and fall of a woman's tones. Within one discovers a faded yellow-haired speaker of medium stature, younger than middle age, exhorting a congregation of some forty-five believers. The group, as well as the preacher, show definite Scandinavian traits.

This is the "Church of the Elect," the only one in all the world. It is ministered to by two women preachers.

The most outstanding peculiarity of the speaker is a slightly wry neck emphasized by a neurasthenic bobbing of the head in connection with an oft-recurring use of an unintelligible shibboleth. This is supposed to express the gift of tongues as experienced in the New Testament church. Sometimes it is accompanied by ejaculations of "Blessed Jesus!" and others intended to help the spirit in the enunciation of the word.

True to its phlegmatic temperament, the Norse audience makes only a moderate response. Waves of suppressed emotion, however, follow the ebb and flow of the speaker's feeling. The audience includes a fringe of people who are not Scandinavian, and all ages and sexes are well represented. It appears to be composed exclusively of laboring class people, and not, in the main, of residents of the vicinity.

Here is the propagandist movement that seeks central location, adjacent to public buildings and the great central institutions of the city, but brings adherents from all quarters.

The sermon is on the "Sword of the Lord." "Jehovah's sword," the preacher declares, "is always wielded constructively." It is far easier to preach the "love side," but today God's wrath must be emphasized. The

sword only crushes the sinner when it is unable to sever him from his sin. This theme is illustrated by a series of detached, forceful scriptures beginning with Lot in Sodom. The myth of Paul and Thekla is elaborated at great length as though it were authentic scripture. The preacher manages to see with great clearness the white horse of Revelation, from his arched neck down to his polished hoofs. Of the rider she sees only his eyes—no more. She refrains from describing the second coming and is only sure that, as things go with God, it will be "soon." This, it is explained, does not mean necessarily very soon as man counts time.

"Preachers are all liars. Noah was called a calamity howler and scorned, as are prophets of today." Such is the defensive anti-climax of the rhapsody.

After the sermon, a motherly and fine-faced old lady, the co-pastor, gives out the notices, which include a very human announcement of a Sunday-school picnic. The collection follows upon the statement that they need "Just twenty-one dollars today in order to be able to say that we owe no man anything." It is soberly taken up by a man and a young girl.

Next follow testimonies as to healing, three cases being presented. The first, a middle-aged woman, tells how she fell off the lower step of a ladder yesterday, landing on the back of her head and lying unconscious part of the night. She "passed a terrible night," but today the pastor and some of her friends prayed with her, and "Now I am here."

Next came a boy of about eighteen who worked in a wholesale grocery establishment. "Mother was away," he says, "so I ate downtown." In the afternoon he was lifting heavy sacks of sugar and piling them in tiers four feet high. He felt sick and struggled home. "When I got there mother says I was purple." (One imagines a case of ptomaine poisoning.) The story ends to the effect that the mother put her hand on his stomach and he felt it relax instantly. He slept well and was back at work the next day.

As the final case, a neighbor tells graphically and not without humor how a heavy woman squeezed herself through a street-car window when the car was thought to be on fire and "came down on the pavement hard." She could walk ("Glory to God!") even before she was prayed for; but "Her husband would not let her come to church today."

Religion on this level is but partly tamed—an unregulated power not yet harnessed to ecclesiastical forms.

It is of course obvious that many such churches will be in a pre-statistical stage of development. They publish no official records, have indefinite terms of membership and are satisfied with loose business and administrative relationships. Consequently it is more than likely that the accountings of local Church Federations and the statistics of the United States Census of Religious Bodies both fail to do full justice to them.

Thus the failure of many months of field work to secure accurate data from certain theosophical, spiritualistic and Pentecostal and "Bible Student" groups has already been confessed. Statistics were manifestly far from the thought of the religious leader who figures in the following case.

Case VIII

The following paragraphs narrate the experience of a young theological student who investigated the "Bethel Pentecostal Association" in

a Massachusetts city. He called at the mission hall at meeting time. What he found was eighty-five chairs arranged in rows—all empty. The hall was very neat, "a jewel," he says, "in that part of the city," and surrounded by fine old colonial dwellings in various stages of decay, now occupied by Jews and Negroes. The immediate district affords the largest number of licensed boarding-, and rooming-houses in this stirring industrial community and is the chief center for the rural newcomer.

The walls of the mission are decorated with vivid scriptural quotations. The leader approaches the investigator, who says that he supposes there is to be a meeting. "Praise the Lord!" replies the man, and explains that they have had difficulty during the last few months in keeping the meetings going. "He asked, 'Are you a Pentecostal member?' I said 'No.' He said, 'You have Christ in your heart?' I said, 'Yes, sir.' Then he talked about the difficulties they have had, and was continually praising God for my presence, even though there was no meeting. Then he said the Lord had been trying their faith very much lately and they had had much difficulty and many struggles. He said, 'If the Lord does not want me to do this I will stop, but I think He does want me to do it. I think that this lack of attendance at the meetings is the work of the devil.'"

The leader then goes on to explain how some oppose the work, calling it "of the devil," but that he is persuaded that the mission has the "only true baptism, that which takes control of the body and soul and gives it over to God." His main worry is about the finances. The rent has been raised and it is very difficult to get along. (It is interesting to discover that this familiar anxiety of the poor is also the anxiety of poor churches. Hundreds of little store-front enterprises, and others occupying rented property, actually do not know from month to month whether they can pay the rent and not infrequently are evicted.)

The investigator continues his narrative: "The leader asked whether I would pray with them [There seem to have been two men by this time.], and we got on our knees at the rear of the church and the leader prayed in a mournful tone. After the 'Amen' the leader used psychological means to make me feel that I ought to pray." (The student does not explain just what these psychological means were, but says that they were forced and artificial and most repulsive to him.) "After explaining that I did not feel at liberty to pray, I took his hand to bid him good-by when he drew my head down and kissed me on the forehead. He said that he would pray for me as I traveled from city to city and asked me to include him in my prayers."

AN EMBRYONIC PHASE

These are samples of some thousands of Protestant religious enterprises represented by a multitude of obscure denominations and evangelistic associations in the larger American cities. Statistically classified as somewhat less than simply developed churches, they are evidently better understood as peculiar states of mind—expressions of religion that are at the same time crude, chaotic and conventional. Yet there is something heroic in the spectacle of so feeble a church attempting the conquest of the mighty city thought of as the incarnation of the present evil world. With such poverty of resources and such richness of faith, without prestige or the advantage of denominational standing and wealth, such little fragments of religious enterprises play their part and sometimes put to shame the better organ-

ized ecclesiastical bodies by reason of devotion and fresh spiritual impulse.

The total number of adherents to such churches is not large but they are divided up into a large number of congregations.¹⁹ These constitute an obscure but important phase of city religious life and may contain the germs of great denominations of the future. Christianity itself had such beginnings and many now venerable denominations have had similar origins within the last two centuries.

If, therefore, all these even more unadapted types were properly included it might turn out that the unadapted group as a whole was really the most numerous and representative in the larger American cities. If this were true the disparity between the feeble city church and the overpowering modern city would be even more striking.

SUMMARY

Summarizing the purely statistical characteristics of the unadapted type, one notes that only a small proportion of these churches adopt the alternative of increasing the range of activities without increasing the number. With so narrow a program to start with this is to be expected. If a church is to limit itself to four activities or less, it is likely to choose from those which the tradition of the city church has made most invariable. Novelty does not often occur, though its presence in Subtype A II and Subtype A III points to the fact that under sufficient pressure of other things even the narrowest program may become somewhat untraditional. The possible causes leading to such a tendency have later explanation.

As a matter of fact what the unadapted church generally does is to fill out the narrow program which its tradition permits before trying anything new. Much the largest subtype (B I) lies in the direction of conservatism. It doubles the number of organizations and activities without increasing their range.

Within such limits the group has primarily the unity of possessing less than average institutional development. Seventy-five per cent. of the 1,044 sample churches reach or surpass the modal stage. If their development is to be regarded as normal the development of this type is sub-normal. If the ways of the majority are good, its ways are not so good. One should repeat, however, that a narrow program is not necessarily a small one in moral and spiritual results. "This one thing I do" may sometimes be a good church motto. A broader program is not necessarily a greater one, religiously speaking. On the whole, however, the total impression of the study will

¹⁹ See Appendix Tables 52 and 57 which, while not directly measuring the number of such churches, throw strong light upon it.

probably be that the more highly developed types reflect broader incentives and a more inclusive vision of the possibilities of urban Christianity.

Interpreting the Unadapted Church

In terms of the basic hypothesis the unadapted church is the city church nearest the country; it is organized urban Christianity showing its rural side. It overlaps the higher ranges of rural development, thus clearly showing a transplanted and but slightly extended rural program. As has been statistically proved, such churches appear most frequently in the cities of the more rural sections of the country and in the more rural denominations.²⁰ They are also characteristic of the parts of cities frequented by rural immigrants.

VARYING RURAL LEVELS REFLECTED IN THE CHURCH

While the most general clew to the unadapted church would seem to be found in such rural origins, it must be recognized that they reflect not one but several levels of rural fortunes. There are rural heritages rather than one single heritage. Churches which carry over to the city the tradition of the successful rural classes—of home and community building farmers living on good land—will differ decidedly from the churches of the rural failures or handicapped country folk such as plantation Negroes. The country delivers up to the city both its best and its worst. On the one hand factory labor utilizes many men who are too unintelligent to farm, while, on the other, the city drains the country of its most ambitious and forceful personalities.

The passing over of the rural church into the city must, therefore, be looked for on different levels. They may be distinguished as the normal and the sub-normal. The resulting subtypes of unadapted city churches are clearly marked. The smallest and narrowest of all—Subtypes A I and A II—are largely made up of the churches of poor rural immigrants and recently come Negroes, of which the following is a fair example. It might be called "An Ecclesiastical Country Cousin."

Case IX—Subtype A I

Near the heart of the "blighted area" over which a metropolitan city has poured out her chief civic lamentations, between solidly massed populations of Negroes and Jews, one comes upon a sort of thicket of rural life in the midst of a great city. More than one-half of the school children of this district were not born in the city. This measures the recency with which the population has immigrated. It consists, in the main, of

²⁰ See pp. 280 and 292.

rural recruits from the neighboring states of Missouri and Illinois. Waves and billows of rapid social change have broken over this district, driving out before them the formerly great and prosperous Protestant churches of the city and leaving in their place a nest of irregular organizations—Pentecostal, Spiritualist and Mormon—seven of which are near neighbors to Case IX.

The church belongs to a denomination which seceded from one of the great historic communions in the assertion of a more emotional type of religious expression. The denomination itself bears the brand of rural origin and recent migration, having ventured, up to 1916, into only twelve of the sixty-eight American cities of over 100,000 population.

Many of the immediate constituents of the church represent a very poor rural level. They are refugees from the thin soils of the Ozarks, economic failures which the farm has passed on to the city. Their exigencies are registered in the fact that Case IX, a small and highly conventional church (whose program otherwise consists of only two women's organizations besides preaching and Sunday school), has ventured on so unusual an enterprise as conducting an employment agency.

Forty-eight members constitute the nucleus of this enterprise. The pastor, with college and seminary education and seven years' experience, receives a salary of \$1,200 a year. Fifty children are enrolled in the Sunday school. The total enterprise costs \$1,650 a year. Yet these poor people are sustaining a financial burden of \$34.37 per capita annually in the operating of this enterprise—well on toward twice the average of the internally adapted churches. Their church building is worth \$12,000.

The churches of the neighborhood are accustomed to pitch tents in their side yards for summer service, or else to build tabernacles of boughs in testimony of their recent rural origin. The weird voices of their evangelists compete with the noise of roller-skating rinks, movie orchestras and the rattling of street cars. It is appropriate that Hick's Almanac, the meteorological Bible of the Southwest, is published in the immediate vicinity. When the church goes to the city on the poor rural level this is the manner of its behavior and such are the limits of its immediate outlook.

Similar cases of ecclesiastical "country cousins" may be found in eastern cities. In a New York city, for example, a little "Church of God," consisting of forty members, has been established within the last six years. It is one of the very few of its denomination to venture into a larger city. Its pastor, with fifteen years' experience, receives \$780. Its Sunday school has an average attendance of thirty-five and its total budget of \$1,000 costs each individual member \$25.

With these petty resources, the church is giving \$390, or \$9.75 per capita, to missions and serves God after its own conscience and standards in a little meeting-house seating 150 people.

The beginnings of Negro churches are sometimes even more humble, as the following example shows:

Case X—Subtype A I

The decline of foreign immigration incident to the World War brought hundreds of thousands of southern plantation Negroes to northern cities. The story of how these strangers have struggled to strike root religiously in this new and distant environment has positive dramatic interest. Villagers in their native Africa, dwelling in little plantation clusters in the old South, largely inhabiting the undeveloped outskirts of the Southern cities today—cities which themselves are scarcely urbanized—the Negroes have remained the most completely rural of the American groups. Intensely sectarian as the Negro is and with strong tendencies toward social

fragmentariness, it is not strange that his church beginnings in the North are frequently of the smallest and feeblest sort. Not infrequently, little groups of neighbors have undertaken the venture of northern migration together and have set up their transplanted church quite in the spirit of the older Pilgrims. Ninety-eight per cent. of all Negroes are either Methodist or Baptist, and it used to be a witty saying of Booker Washington that, if a Negro does not belong to one of these faiths, "some white man has been tampering with his religion." The Negro has, however, split up these denominational families into numerous sects, three of which appear in a single neighborhood of some 800 Negroes in a New England city.

The People's African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church consists of twelve members, six men and six women. It is one of seven churches for the 2,600 Negroes of the city. Organized in 1920, the church meets in a one-story "shack" of frame and sheet metal built as a storeroom. It holds some forty people. Two diminutive back rooms are rudely partitioned off. One, eight by ten feet, figures as a kitchen. With such a setting, six families have separated themselves into a church organization, their place of worship being within two blocks of two other Negro churches.

Within a month previous to the survey, an experienced and ambitious pastor had arrived upon the scene. He claimed one year of college education and proceeded to map out a campaign of expansion on the theory that an industrious minister can always beg money from a generous public on the score of sympathy for Negro religious enterprise. He agreed to accept a salary of \$32 a month for the first six months while he was building up the enterprise.

Even at this rate, the smallest church in the city would be paying at the rate of \$32 per capita annually or almost twice the average cost of all city churches covered in the survey, including the most elaborate and prosperous. This made the People's church easily one of the most expensive religious enterprises in its city.

Its average morning attendance is six, while the evening audience is eighteen. Prayer meeting is maintained for six attendants and there is a nominal young people's society of seven. This, with a woman's organization and a missionary society for children, called "Buds of Promise," constitutes the organization of the church. All, however, were reported in process of reorganization on the date of the survey. It would seem that they had been held intermittently, if at all, in the recent past. To a question as to the number of regular meetings a month the naïve answer was, "This is subject to change according to weather conditions." Roughly estimated, this church is rendering an aggregate monthly religious service of thirty-seven hours. No one would call such an enterprise commensurate with the problem of religion in the city. Its immediate adherents think of it only as a beginning, yet their utmost stretch of imagination pictures a building to cost \$2,000 upon which they have set their hearts and for which they are attempting to raise money.

Another pioneer in the same city, St. Mark's Colored Methodist Episcopal church, started in 1918 in a similar store building; next moved to a schoolhouse, and then, in 1920, to a brick residence still undergoing the process of remodeling. Most of the carpenter work has been done by the pastor and the presiding elder. St. Mark's numbers forty-two members, but lost nineteen while gaining thirty-two members during the year before the survey. This 50 per cent. turnover of membership indicates how fluctuating and impermanent the constituency is. The pastor is classically educated, interested in Greek and regretting that he has never had time to master Hebrew. His salary is \$1,000 out of a total operating budget of \$1,387. The congregation has paid nearly \$1,000 more on the building and is now spending a total per capita of about \$55. It has a valuable adjunct

in the colored man's dormitory administered by the church but supported by public benevolence through the Community Chest.

Should religion attempt to build itself into a city in this way and by such units? To classify these as unadapted churches is of course a mere abstraction; but to put the matter concretely, is it well for a few hundred Negroes to try to maintain three churches on this level in a progressive, northern industrial city? With their indomitable purpose to serve the Lord and help themselves one must have the sincerest sympathy, but one may fairly ask whether it is either necessary or socially wise for the general public to pay the bills.

OTHER LEVELS

Most rural people transplanted to the city naturally trickle into the existing churches by single families, mixing with the general population and not segregating their homes in particular neighborhoods nor establishing separate churches of rural colonists.

Hence it is not easy to identify individual churches as typical products of the rural heritage on such levels. But this is not to cast doubt upon its strong influence. Even in so urbanized a section as New England, a typical city (Springfield, Mass.) shows seven native-born Protestant church members of rural origin for every ten of urban origin. Further, it is known from the Census that not only is the interchange of population among cities of the South and some states of the Middle West practically negligible, but that cities in these regions receive only a small influx of native-born population from cities of other regions. In the West, the regions from which population is preëminently drawn are strongly rural. There is thus a continuous dilution of city attitudes and habits by rural immigration beyond anything which has yet been traced in objective investigations of the church. With so numerous and actively renewed rural sources, reëstablishment of essentially rural churches on more prosperous levels is highly probable. The dominance of people of rural antecedents (often including a strong element of retired farmers) is clearly manifest in the most typical churches of not a few cities of the sections indicated.²¹ The following case serves as a fair example of such a situation. It may be described as "just an ordinary church."

Case XI—Subtype B I

About a mile and three-quarters from the business center of a far-western city, in one of the older residential sections, is a Baptist church.

²¹ For regional characteristics of churches throwing further light upon this point, see p. 293.

As population changes in the immediate downtown region drove the original central churches back upon the hills, the churches in this belt found their exclusive parishes seriously cut into by stronger rivals. The largest church of its denomination has, within a few years, relocated its commanding structure within three-quarters of a mile of the site of Case XI. Meanwhile, its own membership has been scattering to the newer parts of the city. Thus, in a residential area without any natural center of its own, too near the great central institutions to be free from their rivalry, this church, like many another in similar circumstances, has been left to deal with the less energetic and more commonplace people even of its immediate vicinity—primarily those of rural origins who have remained rurally minded. Adjoining it are many of the newer high-grade apartment houses and some of the finer residences of the city. By a sort of natural selection their people avoid the unattractive neighborhood church. This general condition leaves it, as its pastor explains, "just an ordinary church" after twenty-six years of life and in spite of its 271 members.

Its pastor confesses to no preparation for the ministry except that which his twenty-eight years of experience have given him. He receives a salary of \$2,700. The Sunday school of 210 members consists largely of adults, an indication that the young people have gone elsewhere. There is, however, a small but enterprising young people's society. The church of fifteen rooms is a commonplace piece of architecture but affords a considerable range of equipment and comfortably seats 350 in a pleasant auditorium. The total operating budget is \$5,500, and the church proves that it is not wholly ordinary in giving \$3,200 for missions. Its limitations are shown by the fact that it has no Brotherhood, Scout organization or recreational program. It stresses strongly a conservative and individualistic type of theology, and personal evangelism. Its most successful feature is the prayer meeting at which the attendance is nearly one-fourth of the membership. Tracts are widely circulated and the bulletin board in front of the church exhibits in large type Bible texts of evangelical flavor. A certain sense of inferiority and inability to make progress seems to characterize the enterprise. It wonders at the thronged services of the Christian Science Church in the same vicinity.

FOREIGN ORIGINS

Until recently American urban growth has been more largely due to foreign immigration than to any other single external cause. This immigration has been, however, mainly non-Protestant, and its effect on types of Protestant churches has, therefore, not been dominant. Yet the church of foreign origin is an appreciable element within the unadapted types. Many of these immigrants bring a rural tradition of their own. They were peasants in the Old World and their transplanted rural characteristics are conservative. Frequently these become all the more pronounced in America as the foreign group, reacting against a strange land of undesired change, withdraws into a self-protective shell of clannishness. Its church life, in turn, reflects this ultra-conservatism, which is sometimes accompanied by institutional weakness, as in the following example, but not infrequently occurs also in spite of considerable financial strength and material prosperity.

ONE THOUSAND CITY CHURCHES

2 XII—Subtype A I

This diminutive Swedish Baptist church has thirty-one members. There are only two smaller churches in the Northeastern city of 130,000 people in which it is located. It has no morning service. Its range of organizations and activities consists merely of an evening and a mid-week service, a Sunday school of twenty-eight members, a small young people's society and a ladies' aid organization to which the men of the church are attached as honorary members. Twenty-five people constitute its average congregation and its weekly total of service-hours is 126. The Sunday school is made up exclusively of children, and has no adolescent classes. The pastor is neither theologically trained nor ordained. The place of worship is a room twenty-eight by thirty-seven feet in dimensions, built as a one-story addition against the small residence in which the pastor lives. Under these circumstances it is natural that the salary and average expenditures of the church are far below normal, while the total value of its property is but \$6,000.

For ten years a mission of the Swedish Baptist church in a neighboring city, this little group was recognized as a full church organization in 1905. But throughout the last two decades it has had losses relatively larger than those of any other church in the city that still survives. Like other little churches, the only terms on which it can live at all, even with so limited a program, is by demanding a very high number of hours per week from its members. In this respect its record is sixteen and three-tenths hours per member—more than 50 per cent. above the city average.

A very large number of American city churches of foreign antecedents are just like this example. They are particularly characteristic of semi-Americanized groups that have broken away from original, crowded, downtown foreign sections and begun to build little bungalow colonies on the outskirts of cities. The central problem of the foreign-speaking church, as of the American church, is, therefore, the urbanizing of a precious rural type, although the continuity of evolution is not so exact in detail.

REMNANTS AND FAILURES

Anything that makes a church fundamentally unsuccessful tends to pull it down into the unadapted type. For this reason there are more varieties of unadapted churches than of any other sort and greater contrasts between subtypes. In the slums of cities one finds swept together as companions in misfortune not only the foreigner, the new rural immigrant, Negro and white, but also representatives of decayed old families stranded in homes that were once mansions but which they are too poor to sacrifice or too old to leave. Naturally the religious institutions of such neighbors will mingle in one complex statistical class. Besides the very small foreign or Negro church will be found new and feeble American enterprises.

Within this type in considerable numbers will also be found churches whose development has been arrested because of poor location or failure of the constituency to grow. Frequently they

represent very small denominations whose peculiarities are unacceptable to the majority and which are not fed by large natural constituencies. A denomination which, although strong in other sections of the country, is regionally weak because out of its natural habitat, will frequently contribute churches to this group. For example, Presbyterianism in New England and Congregationalism in the South find it hard to pull their churches up out of the unadapted type.

Again, there are the noble ruins of churches that have seen better days exhibiting a more advanced stage of recession than did similar churches in the slightly adapted group. In the retreat of the "nice people" before population changes, these churches were a little too slow or more stubborn than others, and were caught in the backwash of the social current. They cannot now move to advantage or are still held by a sense of obligation, only to dwindle and disintegrate.

Case XIII—Subtype C II

No better example could be found of a church that has seen better days than Christ Church on Salem Street, Boston, at the end of two hundred years. This, the famous "old North Church," sharing Revolutionary renown with Paul Revere, is now a symbolic candle flickering on an altar rather than a lofty beacon signifying a great cause. A total reversal of fortune lies between the church maintaining the élite academy in which Henry Ward Beecher as a boy was learning Latin, and the present Salem Street neighborhood identified in college doggerel as a Jewish quarter.

Copp's Hill, on which the church stands, still looks across to the "Charlestown Shore" where Bunker Hill rises. Paul Revere himself has left a sketch of the old North Church spire rising high above the low dwellings of 1723; but it does not rise above the many-story tenement houses of to-day.

The church is an historic shrine rather than a vital place of present service. It counts sixty-two members but has no Sunday school. The rector receives \$1,200 salary and is assisted by a woman social worker. The budget of \$8,700 is largely expended on the upkeep of the property. Though this building is valued at only \$56,000, the interior of the church is a distinguished piece of architecture. Its ancient structural and decorative features have been piously restored in recent years under the leadership of Bishop Lawrence. Scarcely any church in America has more venerable memorials. These include the ancient chime of bells, a communion service of high artistic value and a copy of the "vinegar" Bible.

But the "old North Church" belongs to the ages much more than to the present day. It is more significant for the nation than for the neighborhood. Not a few such venerable churches exist within the feebler extremes of the unadapted group.

The unadapted type thus turns out to be the catch-all of the unsuccessful as well as the hold-over of the rural tradition. For this reason its interpretation is complicated. No one or two principles will explain all the facts. While, speaking broadly, the type

represents the weakness of small resources, the poverty of the poor, the strangeness of the foreigner, the relatively poor standards of the farmer recently come to the city—all frequently superimposed upon a rural tradition—not all unadapted churches are numerically and financially weak. Some are unadapted because they want to be so. Thus a surveyor of a certain church was reminded rather tartly, "We have everything that a Southern Baptist church is supposed to have."²²

Case XIV—Subtype B I

Urban conservatism rather than rural finds an example in a church of solid Teutonic virtues, though largely Americanized, located in a metropolitan city. Its relatively large and well-balanced Sunday school is a mark of the American rather than German tradition, and shows that the younger generation is ready to move on. For thirty-six years it has occupied the center of the middle-class residential district a little apart from the brewery industrial section, where the old-world flavor of the original German quarter is left behind and the tree-lined streets are fronted by houses showing the substantial and ugly American city architecture of a generation ago.

The present membership is just over 600. The pastor, a fully educated man with twenty years' experience, has been seven and one-half years in his present position and receives a salary of \$1,650. The total budget of the church is \$5,460 for current expenses—less than \$10 per member—and nearly \$1,200 for missions. With a well-equipped, though old-fashioned, building of ten rooms, seating 525 in the auditorium, and with thriving subsidiary organizations within a narrow range, the church is, nevertheless, unadapted from the standpoint of the average American city organization. It has no boys', girls' or young people's organizations. This reflects the pull-back of conservative tradition. In spite of its size and resources it stands a little to the rear of average American church progress.

This interpretation is justified by detailed comparison of the group of larger churches within the unadapted type. While inferior to the slightly adapted churches, they stand nearer to them in many respects—size, for example—than they do to the other subtypes of their own group. Their resources are demonstrably superior and they can have more of a varied program whenever they want to. They have what they regard as proper, but their development is below the average of the majority of American city churches.

²² Some of the reasons held by other churches for not wanting to be adapted are discussed on pp. 240 f.

Chapter VIII

THE INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCH

The 196 churches designated "internally adapted" are in development one statistical stage beyond the slightly adapted churches according to the methods of measurement explained in Chapter iii.

Concretely stated, their programs are larger and broader. They round out the set of subsidiary organizations within the church so that there is specialized provision for every age-, and sex-group. They develop the programs of these organizations, or else add still newer activities, until all the more outstanding human interests and aspects of life are ministered to under church auspices.

PROGRAM

These obvious tendencies are illustrated in Table XXVIII, showing sample programs of five churches each from the two subtypes included in the internally adapted type.

In these programs organizations and activities appear as frequent and characteristic that occur in only a few marginal churches of the slightly adapted type, and then in very unbalanced relation to other elements of the program.¹ These new activities are modal for the internally adapted type as a whole, although appearing more frequently in Subtype D II which shows the maximum elaboration that is normally found.

These activities include separate organizations for young women, clubs or classes for mothers, recreational activities like dramatics, organized athletics or gymnasium classes, together with the beginnings of practical instruction illustrated by sewing classes. From this range of activity Subtype C II selects from nine to twelve items for its program and Subtype D II from thirteen to seventeen items.

Other activities, rare in city churches as a whole, have become relatively frequent with churches of this type, though not of general occurrence even with them. They are frequently open daily for private religious devotion; they often use moving-pictures; they have Sunday afternoon sociables or teas; they tend to maintain daily vacation Bible schools and week-day classes for religious instruction.

¹ See Table IX for sample programs of Subtype B III.

TABLE XXVIII—SAMPLE PROGRAMS OF INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES

	Subtypes									
	C II					D II				
<i>Organizations and Activities</i>	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. Preaching and Sunday School	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2. Ladies' Aid or Guild	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
3. Women's Missionary Society	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
4. Young People's Society	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
5. Chorus Choir		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
6. General Social Events	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
7. Men's Organization	*	*	*		*	*		*	*	*
8. Boy Scouts		*	*	*		*	*	*		*
9. Mission Study Classes				*		*	*	*		*
10. Organized Welcome				*		*	*		*	
11. Orchestra or Band	*					*		*		*
12. Boys' Club (not Scouts)			*		*			*	*	*
13. Lectures						*				*
14. Library	*	*		*		*	*		*	
15. Girls' Club (not Scouts)			*		*			*		*
16. Concerts									*	
17. Girl Scouts or Equivalent		*				*	*	*	*	*
18. Mothers' or Parents' Organization		*				*	*	*	*	*
19. Young Women's Organization			*	*	*			*	*	*
20. Dramatic Club	*	*	*					*	*	*
21. Gymnasium Classes	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*
22. Sewing Classes						*	*			
	10	11	11	10	11	14	14	15	16	16

Other Characteristics

SIZE

In popular judgments of the city church the most characteristic church of the internally adapted type would be called fairly large, having between 500 and 1,000 members; and over one-third of internally adapted churches have more than 1,000 members as shown in Table XXIX.²

TABLE XXIX—MEMBERSHIP OF INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
Under 500	27.2
Under 100 .....	....
100 to 200	3.8
200 to 300	9.2
300 to 400	8.2
400 to 500	6.0
500 to 1,000	38.6
1,000 and over	34.2

* 184 churches reporting.

² Appendix Table 5.

AGE AND PERMANENCE

The internally adapted church is middle-aged or old rather than young, 14.6 per cent. of its examples having been organized for more than a century. It has moved more frequently than the church of any other type, its average age in a given location being only half its age in years. Only a little more than one-fourth of its examples are now located on their original sites.³ How far mobility accounts for elaboration is a question for later discussion.⁴

STAFF

Nearly three-fourths of the internally adapted churches have more than one paid religious worker. The staff consists most frequently of one or of three workers, but quite often of four or five as shown in the following comparison:⁵

TABLE XXX—PAID RELIGIOUS WORKERS IN INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
1	27.2
2	22.0
3	27.2
4	12.1
5	6.3
6	2.1
7	0.5
8	2.1
9 .....	....
10	0.5

* 191 churches reporting.

Among additional male workers relatively fewer are classified as assistant pastors than in the slightly adapted churches, and many more are designated as directors of religious education or of recreation or of boys' or young people's work. One finds also occasional business managers or full-time treasurers. Secretaries, deaconesses and visitors are the most frequently designated women workers, but women directors of social service or of women's, girls' or young people's work appear in significant numbers.

THE PASTOR

The internally adapted church has a highly educated ministry, 86.5 per cent. of its pastors having at least full college and semi-

³ Appendix Tables 6 and 7.

⁴ See p. 212, Chart XXXII.

⁵ Appendix Table 9.

nary training, and 33.6 per cent. having taken additional post-graduate work. They are predominantly in the prime of life, three-fourths of them having had from ten to thirty years' experience in

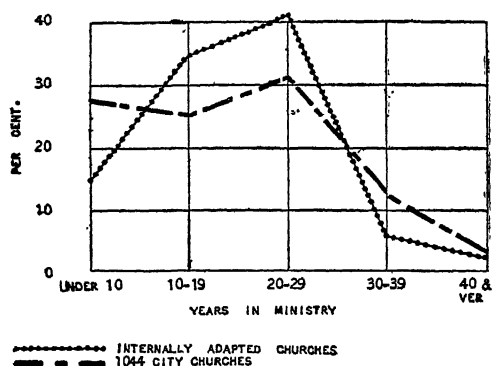


CHART XXIV

Experience of Pastors of Internally Adapted Churches Compared with Experience of Pastors of 1,044 City Churches.

the ministry. Few are very young or very old. They tend to stay in the same pastorate slightly longer than those of other types.⁶

The characteristic salaries for pastors of this type of church

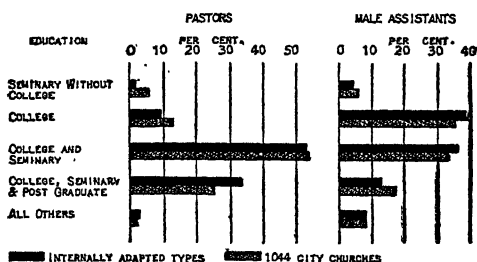


CHART XXV

Education of Pastors and Male Assistants in Internally Adapted Churches and in 1,044 City Churches.

range from \$2,000 up, one-fourth being as high as from \$5,000 to \$7,000, and nearly one-tenth over \$7,000. The salary range is shown in Table XXXI.⁷

⁶ Appendix Tables 12-14.

⁷ Appendix Table 15.

TABLE XXXI—SALARIES OF PASTORS OF INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Salary</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors</i>
Less than \$1,000 .....	....
\$1,000 to \$2,000	11.0
\$2,000 to \$3,000	20.6
\$3,000 to \$4,000	19.9
\$4,000 to \$5,000	13.2
\$5,000 to \$6,000	12.5
\$6,000 to \$7,000	13.2
\$7,000 to \$8,000	6.6
\$8,000 and over	3.0

* 136 pastors reporting.

These larger salaries go with larger average size and more elaborate program. The men who receive them are administering a bigger business than that of the average church, one that involves larger plants, heavier current expense budgets and benevolences, more fellow workers and wider constituencies.

FINANCES

Characteristic budgets of the internally adapted churches range from \$5,000 to \$10,000, but in over one-fifth of the cases they exceed \$25,000.⁸

TABLE XXXII—CURRENT EXPENSES OF INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches*</i>
Under \$5,000	15.5
Under \$1,000	0.6
\$1,000 to \$2,000	2.3
\$2,000 to \$3,000	4.6
\$3,000 to \$4,000	3.4
\$4,000 to \$5,000	4.6
\$5,000 to \$10,000	25.8
\$10,000 to \$15,000	13.8
\$15,000 to \$20,000	14.4
\$20,000 to \$25,000	9.2
\$25,000 to \$50,000	19.6
\$50,000 and over	1.7

* 174 churches reporting.

The per capita cost of internally adapted churches is only slightly above the average for the 1,044 city churches; namely, \$19.12 as compared with the average of \$18.17. The subtypes are close to-

gether in this respect. This would seem to indicate that the program of the average city church can be greatly enlarged as to both number and range of activities without appreciable additional expense to the individuals participating.

Over one-half of the internally adapted churches give more than \$5,000 annually to benevolences, and 10.9 per cent. give more than \$25,000. In this respect again the two subtypes are close together. The per capita benevolence of the type is \$12.03 as compared with the average for 1,044 city churches of \$11.52.⁹

PROPERTY

The median value of the church building of the internally adapted type is \$120,400, but the subtypes differ strikingly, the churches of Subtype C II showing a median value of \$86,570, as compared with one of \$150,000 for Subtype D II. The representative church of the type has from ten to twenty rooms and seats 700 people in the auditorium. It has a much larger working equipment than the less developed types. In respect to value, the subtypes show well-defined differences on every point relating to property.¹⁰

SUNDAY SCHOOL

Sunday-school enrollment of the internally adapted church reaches the characteristic mode of from 300 to 400 pupils, but considerably over one-third of them have more than 500 pupils, and over one-tenth have more than 1,000.

Sunday-school attendance is about average compared with enrollment, but relative to church membership the Sunday-school enrollment is smaller than in the less developed types.

The Sunday school of the internally adapted church is, however, especially strong in adolescent and adult membership. Of the seventeen subtypes only one other has so high a proportion of adolescents in its enrollment as Subtype D II.¹¹ Whether or not the fuller and wider program of the churches of this type is the cause of its superior ability to hold adolescents in Sunday school, it is at least a striking fact that the two phenomena coincide.

ENVIRONMENT

On the basis of eighty-four cases studied the internally adapted type has the largest proportion of centrally located churches, most

⁹ Appendix Table 25.

¹⁰ Appendix Table 29.

¹¹ Appendix Tables 31-35a.

of which are found at the business heart of the city. This type also shows more churches in high-class neighborhoods than any other, and more residential churches strategically related to neighborhood centers.¹²

PARISH CHARACTERISTICS

Because it has so many downtown churches, the internally adapted type naturally has a large proportion of parishes with scattered memberships brought from long distances and from all directions. The evidence for the sixty-two cases studied is shown in the following comparison:

<i>Per Cent. of Mem- bers Living Within One Mile</i>	<i>Parish Designation</i>	<i>Distribution of Internally Adapted Churches</i>		
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Resi- dential</i>
75 and over	Compact	27	4	23
50-74	Medium	17	8	9
25-49	Scattered	12	5	7
Less than 25	Very Scattered	6	5	1

In view of the average distance from which churches succeed in drawing members, most of the centrally located churches of this type would seem to be no longer strategically located. If they are succeeding, it is under difficulties. Perhaps the development of their

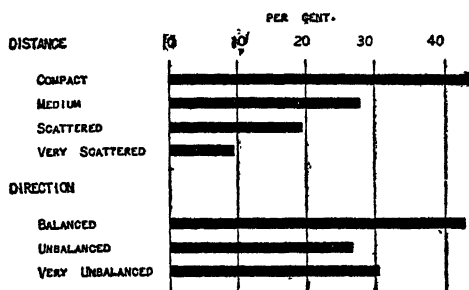


CHART XXVI

Per Cent. Distribution of Types of Parishes of Internally Adapted Churches, by Distance and Direction.

programs is partly a reflection of the effort to meet these difficulties.

The residential churches of the type, on the contrary, have an unusual proportion of compact parishes whose elaboration must be due to some other cause.¹³

¹² Appendix Tables 37-38c.

¹³ Appendix Tables 40-42.

With respect to the direction of members' homes from the church building, the showing of the internally adapted type is most interesting, especially in connection with the facts as to the distance of the constituents from the church. As shown in the following comparison, the parish of the internally adapted church tends to be normally balanced.¹⁴

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>
Normally balanced parish	21
Unbalanced parish	13
Very unbalanced parish	15

If the small number of cases under examination is at all typical, this indicates a much larger proportion of balanced parishes than any other type has. It suggests a sort of church which is able to draw constituents from all directions as well as from great distances. This is in striking contrast with churches having more limited programs.¹⁵

Larger Environments and Relations

The internally adapted type shows definite geographical, racial and denominational affinities.

REGION

The internally adapted churches constitute 18.8 per cent. of the 1,044 churches studied. They occur with about average frequency in the northeastern and southern states, but with considerably more than average frequency in the north central states where they form 25.2 per cent. of the total, and with much less than average frequency in the western states where they only form 8.6 per cent. of the total. As between the subtypes, the north central states have an even higher proportion of the more developed Subtype D II, while the western states are even more deficient in churches of this subtype. Elaboration, then, is a phenomenon of regional geography, the reasons for which challenge later explanation.¹⁶

SIZE OF CITY

Although the internally adapted churches constitute 18.8 per cent. of the 1,044 churches, they only make 10.5 per cent. of those churches which are in cities of from one-half to three-quarters of a million. On the other hand, they constitute 25.7 per cent. of the

¹⁴ For explanation of the categories used in this comparison, see p. 255.

¹⁵ Appendix Tables 43 and 44.

¹⁶ See pp. 294 f. Also Appendix Table 47.

churches found in cities of more than one million, and almost as high a proportion in cities of from a quarter to a half a million population. This comparison appears in detail in Table XXXIII.¹⁷

TABLE XXXIII—RATIO OF INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES TO TOTAL CHURCHES, IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE

<i>Population of City</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
100,000 to 250,000	19.5
250,000 to 500,000	23.9
500,000 to 750,000	10.5
750,000 to 1,000,000	17.2
1,000,000 and over	25.7
All cities	18.8

An explanation of this phenomenon is attempted in a later connection.¹⁸

RACIAL AFFINITY

Out of fifty-seven "foreign churches" as defined for the purposes of this study¹⁹ only one belongs to the internally adapted type. This degree of ecclesiastical development is distinctly beyond the reach of Protestants of the more recent immigrant races.

DENOMINATIONAL TENDENCIES

The denominations generally share in the churches of the internally adapted type in approximately their due proportion on the basis of the 1,044 churches studied. There are two striking exceptions, namely, the Methodist Episcopal, whose churches constitute 19.9 per cent. of the sample, but reach 27 per cent. of the internally adapted type; and the Methodist Episcopal South, whose churches make up 3.7 per cent. of the sample but only 2 per cent. of the internally adapted type. "All other denominations" and the Lutherans are also proportionately below their ranks in per cent. of internally adapted churches while the Disciples are considerably above it. On the whole, however, the tendency to elaboration is well distributed throughout the major denominations, though reaching more than one-fourth of the total in only one denomination.²⁰

Divergent Tendencies

As previously noted²¹ the internally adapted type exhibits only one of the two logical tendencies involved in the general evolution

¹⁷ Appendix Table 46.

¹⁸ See p. 282.

¹⁹ See p. 276.

²⁰ Appendix Table 45.

²¹ See p. 72.

TABLE XXXIV—DISTRIBUTION OF INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES BY DENOMINATIONS

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	
	<i>Total Churches Studied</i>	<i>Internally Adapted Churches</i>
Baptist	15.8	13.3
Congregational	10.5	11.7
Disciples	4.4	5.6
Methodist Episcopal	19.3	27.0
Methodist Episcopal South	3.7	2.0
Presbyterian U. S. A.	17.3	16.3
Protestant Episcopal	10.5	12.3
Lutheran (all bodies)	4.4	3.1
All others	14.1	8.7

of the subtypes. Subtype D II has more activities than Subtype C II; but there is no adventurous subtype, corresponding to those found in the types previously considered, that increases the range of its activities without increasing their number and that still keeps a due proportion of the more frequent activities.

On a considerable number of counts there is little difference between the subtypes. Their pastors have equal experience. The proportion of salaries in the higher ranges is about the same, as is the proportion of budgets beyond \$25,000. Per capita current expenses and benevolences are close together, as are also the average capacity of auditoriums and the distribution of Sunday-school enrollment. The following divergences, however, appear:

<i>Divergent Aspect</i>	<i>Subtype C II</i>	<i>Subtype D II</i>
Size	Approximately 13% more churches of under 500 members	Approximately 12% more churches of 500-1,000 members
Age	Average younger	Average older
Permanence	Less permanent	More permanent
Staff-number	20% have 4 or more workers	29% have 4 or more workers
Staff-functions	Fewer with unusual functions	More with unusual functions
Pastor's education	More without seminary training	More with seminary training
Pastor's tenure in present position	Trend to shorter tenure	Trend to longer tenure
Pastor's salary	More under \$3,000	Fewer under \$3,000
Current expense budgets	More under \$10,000	More \$15,000-\$25,000
Facilities	Trend to smaller number	Trend to larger number
Rooms in church building	Trend to smaller number	Trend to larger number
Value church plant	Average much smaller	Average much greater
Age of Sunday-school pupils	More adults	More adolescents
Location	Many more residential	Many more central
Advantageous location of central churches	More strategically located	More doubtfully located
Quality of neighborhood of residential churches	More high class	More middle class

Reading down the list, one notes a clear-cut distinction between the lower and higher phase of general development. Subtype D II has more of everything generally accounted good than the less developed Subtype C II. With respect to environmental factors, however, this is not true. The churches of the less developed subtype appear to be more frequently located in high-class residential neighborhoods and better located if downtown. This difference will have weight in the environmental interpretation.²²

The variations within the type are thus limited to a leaner and fuller phase of elaboration. One subtype simply has more of the same sort of program than has the other.

ADVANCE BEYOND THE SLIGHTLY ADAPTED TYPE

The four tendencies found in the expansion of the program of the slightly adapted type are all simply carried farther in that of the internally adapted church. Church services are further enriched; the general social life of the parish becomes more complex; additional organizations based upon age-, and sex-differentiation are included, and still more varied expressions of cultural and recreational interests appear. The internally adapted church has thus moved beyond the slightly adapted church but in the same general direction. An attempt to interpret its peculiar stage of development follows.

Interpreting the Internally Adapted Type

FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS

The basic hypothesis of this study is that city churches represent various phases in the adaptation of the rural church to an urban environment. Viewed in the light of this hypothesis, the unadapted church, as has been seen, is in the city but not of it, while the slightly adapted church has driven forward with no clear notion of where it is going. The internally adapted church, on the other hand, represents a definite step forward in the process of urban adaptation; it possesses an urban outlook and spirit and tends to have a distinctly urbanized program.

ELEMENTS OF THE NEW URBAN OUTLOOK

Among other things the internally adapted church senses the presence in the city of enlarging numbers of people not living in

²² See p. 264.

family groups. All cities are young men's and young women's towns. About 10 per cent. more of city populations are found in the group twenty to forty-four years of age than in rural communities. This gives a distinct spirit of energy and adventure to the city. Not only do multitudes of youths flock there to seek independent fortunes but marriage is often deferred or avoided altogether. Seven per cent. fewer of the urban than of the rural females above fifteen years of age are married. In consequence the non-family population of the city becomes a larger, maturer and more controlling factor than in any other type of community.

Even to those who are members of it, the family ceases to mean exactly what it did in rural society. Instead of living in its own separate home it shares a multi-family dwelling with strangers who are served collectively by one agency for heat, light, water and sanitation. Space is so scarce that infancy is crowded out on the streets for air, childhood for play, and youth for its inevitable activities and curiosities. Life is public rather than private.

EFFECT OF CHANGED ECONOMIC STATUS

The tendency away from the home is reënforced by economic changes. There are 5 per cent. fewer of the city's young people in school than there are of the country's. Thus while country boys and girls are still in school, their city contemporaries have often gone to work. Independent wages and an earlier contact with the world make youth increasingly independent of parental authority and critical of the ideas of the older generation. Similarly the married woman who works away from home inevitably shifts her attitude toward marriage and the family. Thus family ties are forced to adjust themselves to the new set of relationships under urban conditions.

THE PART OF THE CHURCH

A distinguished Detroit minister who left the city some fifteen years ago and returned to the same pastorate after seven years' absence—during which Detroit grew two and one-half times as fast as any other American city of its class except Los Angeles—is in a unique position to sense what has happened in the meantime. Leaving a localized constituency in a residential neighborhood and coming back to a downtown church with an ever-scattering following, he epitomizes the change by saying: "We used to gain members by families; now it is by individuals." The city, he goes on to say, has developed a type of religious "seekers" who go about hunting for churches with which they have spiritual affinity. Their sense

of need is untraditional, individual, sometimes more and sometimes less steady or profound. But they are especially available material for the ministries of the more alert and adaptable city church.

In brief, city life needs, and is ripe for, new social and ethical interpretation. Here are found the raw materials of new loyalties, urging upon the imagination and will the holiness of human perplexity and the experimental spirit of the gang, of the social class, of the city itself. Here is opportunity for new moral leadership based on the fact that the city is a new method of human association capable of full idealistic rendering. Consequently any institution that has followed the people from country to city is under the necessity of finding a new appeal and program, or else of losing the people.

ELABORATION WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM

Not a few internally adapted churches appear, however, to have drifted somewhat unconsciously into their present positions. They have followed instinct rather than conviction. Having to live up to their official positions or their historic reputations, they accept the examples of other successful churches without understanding the principles involved. Or they do somewhat grudgingly what their own younger generation expects.

Case XV—Subtype C II

A good example of such a situation is the "Old First" Church in a New England city.

The mother church of the entire region and the fourteenth to be founded in the state, for 285 years it has occupied the focal point of the city, always standing adjacent to the public square. Now, with its fourth meeting-house, it occupies the very center of the square, facing the great municipal buildings. The street-car system—at once the best friend and, by reason of its noise, the worst enemy of the church—also focuses at this point. The church stands where paths have always met, and an unrivaled degree of prestige attaches both to the spot and to the organization.

For 170 years First Church was the only church in the city. The individualistic habit of mind fixed during this period is still strong upon it. Its membership of some 1,500 covers the entire area of the city and is frequently stronger in a given locality than the strongest of the neighborhood churches. Indeed in nine out of the eleven districts into which the city was divided for purposes of survey, the membership of the First Church constitutes one of the major religious groups.

Many of its local parish organizations are older than the usual agencies through which similar work is now currently done in the majority of churches, and their distinctions without a difference are cherished piously. Enormous civic authority is attached to the utterances of the First Church pulpit. Its building is the natural geographical center for interdenominational and other general gatherings.

All this has given the church a unique character with respect to the total religious movements of the city. Churches of greater financial ability, however (some of them children of First Church), tend to dispute its

ascendancy in the community. As a reaction from this situation, the First Church has developed the habit of going it alone in the strength of its members and historic standing. It does not therefore exercise in fact the leadership that it sometimes assumes.

Its main instincts are conservative; but by reason of its position and central location, there has gradually grown up within it a range of activities which have now reached something like all-around elaboration of program.

The city grew more in the last two decades than in the previous 200 years. It is not strange therefore that the First Church should be 50 per cent. larger than it was twenty years ago. Its religious leadership consists of the services of an enormously industrious pastor with a single woman secretary to assist him. The pastor's salary is \$6,000 and the secretary's \$1,500. The total operating budget of the church is about \$20,000 and the annual benevolence nearly \$10,000. This is about one-third less than the average per capita rate of support of the churches of its denomination in the city—reflecting the rather modest average of the present economic standing of its constituency. The per capita rate has increased 50 per cent. over a period of twenty years, but has remained practically stationary for the last ten. The present per capita expenditure for current support approximates very closely the average for the 1,044 city churches included in the study.

The rate of per capita benevolence approximates closely that of the church's denomination in the city, but is considerably below the average for the 1,044 city churches.

The Sunday school enrolls nearly 800 pupils and has an average attendance of 73 per cent. of the enrollment, which exactly agrees with the city average. Its age-distribution, however, shows striking variations, reflecting the central location of the church. This appears in the following comparison:

<i>Age Period</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution</i>	
	<i>City</i>	<i>First Church</i>
Infants	9	3
Children	49	24
Adolescents	20	27
Adults	22	46

This showing reflects a tendency common to centrally located churches. Adults and adolescents can naturally go longer distances than small children. It suggests also that the degree to which an elaborated program serves all elements in the church constituency necessarily varies with the character and balance of that constituency. The church that has an elaborated program for adolescents and adults may still be in a position to offer only a narrow program for young children on account of its location. In other words, the location most strategic with respect to the total constituency may be disadvantageous with respect to some part of it.

The outstanding merit of the present work in the First Church is its careful parish organization and the active and intensive cultivation of its constituents. The parish is divided into twenty districts in which there are weekly neighborhood programs of social and religious character. The church thus makes good its elaborated program by taking it home to the dispersed membership in their own neighborhoods. How much the central character of the church is a matter of prestige and general sentiment and how little a matter of everyday use, is evidenced by the fact that it is not felt necessary to have the church office open throughout the day. Central facilities for parish work are ample, though old-fashioned.

The pulpit ministries of the church, however, constitute its central services. Cultural responsibility is recognized in preaching as well as the evangelistic message. There is a conservative use of literary subjects in

the pulpit. The church does little formal advertising, being universally known in its relatively small city and continuously in the public eye.

Churches like this constitute the first distinctively urban type. They are brought to elaboration of program less by the realization and acceptance of any specific urban viewpoint than by the unconscious addition of one feature after another—frequently to meet the competition of churches whose positions compel them to be more aggressive. One gets the impression that First Church would be just as willing not to do some of the things it is doing if it did not have to live up to its position in the city. Its real interests are in the evangelistic pulpit and in an elaborate system of careful, old-fashioned parish ministrations.

CONSTRUCTIVE ADAPTATION

In contrast with the hesitancy with which a church like the Old First approaches the urban situation certain churches are more deliberately aggressive. Churches of the former type feel the disorganization of old attitudes by the urban spirit more definitely than they do its creative and constructive aspects. Churches of the latter type are warm-hearted, self-confident, opportunistic. They feel responsible for meeting changing conditions and are not slaves to any limiting theory. They do not see, therefore, why the church should not move along with the city in the lines of its distinctive characteristics. They have acted experimentally more often than from any fully thought-out policy. The result is the internally adapted church program developed by about one-fifth of the 1,044 city churches being studied.

Case XVI—Subtype D II

A Congregational church in one of the large cities of the Middle West presents a characteristic example of an old-time city enterprise meeting a crisis due to changed environment and solving it by a deliberate right-about-face.

In 1920 this church decided to take stock of its changed situation. A large proportion of its members were supposed to have moved to the suburbs, though actual count showed three-fourths still living in reasonable proximity to the church. The church was, therefore, really more scared than hurt. Half of its Sunday school, however, had come to represent families not otherwise connected with the church. Sixty per cent. of the population of the community was new, and the neighborhood had gradually changed from a place of homes to a rather congested district of multi-family dwellings.

Three choices appeared to be before the church: namely, to continue the former program while the church progressively dwindled away; to remove to the suburbs in order to perpetuate an average church of the family type; or to make a new adjustment. The last course was decided upon, and the church attempted to think its way through an effective program for the next ten years.

Without designating its new program as an elaborated one, the church

actually did what corresponds exactly with the characteristic procedure of the type. It added extensively to its cultural and recreational activities. It established a full round of subsidiary organizations for all the age-, and sex-groups and supplied them with a week-day, as well as a religious, program. It changed its Sunday evening services into a platform for the discussion of current problems and gave two nights per week to organized recreation. It established a choral society which gave monthly musical entertainments.

The resources of the church were smaller than formerly. The staff necessary to operate so elaborate a program had therefore to be secured by the employment of part-time workers at nominal salaries. Four such workers were added, namely, two recreational directors, a parish visitor and a secretary.

The spacious old stone building (worth \$90,000), with its enormous auditorium but few rooms for other purposes, did not easily lend itself to the demands of the new program. Rather makeshift devices were resorted to in order to accommodate a more exactly graded Sunday school and the various recreational activities. The total budget of the church is now about \$15,000, and the new order has had several years of successful operation.

An important factor in the church's transformation has been publicity. Its printed matter has been plentiful, varied and clever. Still more important, however, has been the reeducation of spirit to which the church set itself. Characterizing its tradition as that of a "secluded family church," it recognized that the achievement of wider community influence would be a gradual process in which the church would have to change its traditional attitude and make good in the minds of its new neighbors. The resolution of the church on this point is worth quoting: "It will require conscious and consistent effort on the part of the members of the church at all times to interest others in church activities and to welcome them to church activities in the friendly, democratic spirit of service. No church can possibly become great without that spirit. Men and women, of whatever degree or station, generally do not fully appreciate the power, as well as the duty, of affable democratic manners, and friendly association with their fellows. Human nature craves friendship. These things are absolutely imperative to the growth of a community church. What is more, they are a personal Christian duty."

Besides reinserting itself into the original neighborhood in which it had ceased to be fully at home, the church has maintained active touch with its suburban members by organizing special group activities for them. Whether this is wiser than to help them to active identification with churches nearer their homes is a question. Their services and support, however, have been an important factor in enabling the church to stay where it was and to face about instead of retreating from its difficulties.

The next case is that of a preponderately young people's church that has adopted an elaborated program without preconception, as a sort of natural birthright of urban youth in this stage of the world's history.

Case XVII—Subtype D II

"The best church of foreign origins in its denomination," is the verdict of a prominent church official upon this Methodist Episcopal enterprise. It is a shining example, well beyond the average, of a broadly developed church in a working-class neighborhood of foreign antecedents. The membership of about 775 is mainly of Bohemian extraction, and separate services in the Bohemian tongue are still maintained. But English is the

language of most of the church's manifold activities, and its spirit is distinctly American.

The church has a staff of eight workers and a budget of over \$21,000 in round figures, about \$4,000 of which comes from its denominational board of missions. It worships in a recently erected church structure of exceptionally dignified design and complete appointment. The building, constructed of stone, has thirty rooms, including the most up-to-date equipment for administration, religious education and recreational life.

It is a church rich in young people, as indeed it should be, with three special directors, one for boys' activities, one for girls' activities, and one for general social interests. It has an especially well-equipped gymnasium. The Sunday school enrolls over a thousand and includes an unusual proportion of adolescents. Its pupils represent the following nationalities:

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution</i>
Bohemian	45.0
German	26.0
American	25.0
All other	4.0

The last item includes a considerable minority of pupils from Irish and Polish families.

The Sunday-school membership is more widely distributed in the city than that of the church, 57 per cent. of its pupils living within a mile of the church.

Half of the boys' activities are classified under the head of "general community interests" (social gatherings, etc.); 33 per cent. as gymnasium work; 14 per cent. as games; 3 per cent. as formal devotional services. Sixty per cent. of the boys participating are from the church's own Sunday school, 30 per cent. are Catholics, and 10 per cent. are from families of no faith.

These items are taken from the very complete statistical records of the church. It has analyzed its work and knows its field. Seventy-five per cent. of its church members live within a mile of the church, mainly within a well-defined sector, including a minor trade center and joining a factory section. The church is one of three of its neighborhood rated by the city Church Federation as doing special community work for foreigners. Near by is located a well-known training school for foreign Protestant workers, mainly Slavs.

The church carries on an unusual number of up-to-date features. It has a weekly "all Broadway night" combining a supper, a social and a prayer service, and then breaking up into groups for a forum, teacher-training classes, a story hour and a Girls' Circle. It maintains a Daily Vacation Bible School of over 400 members and a boys' camp. Its weekday Bible class started off last year with an attendance of 159 pupils.

With all this variety the church is emphatically not setting itself to serve sub-normal populations. It has no health work, no special emphasis on charity, and maintains no employment agency, dormitory or home. Its pastor is influential in denominational circles in the city at large, and the church actively participates in denominational affairs.

Perhaps its most unique distinction is a considerable endowment for church music, which assures a varied ministry in this department of service. This perpetuates the best traditions of the church's Bohemian ancestry. It adds the touch of an honestly inherited special genius to an institution thoroughly adapted to the service of a progressive and forward-looking urban population. All told, the church expresses a dynamic group teaming with young energies, contributing to as well as receiving from America, courageously accepting new responsibilities and hopefully sharing the destinies of a great city.

THE ELABORATED SUBTYPES

In the evidence as presented, two variations worthy of illustration are discovered: namely, a less highly elaborated type tending toward a residential environment and a more highly elaborated one found characteristically in central environments.

Case XVIII—Subtype C II

Just at the point where the zoning ordinance limits the westward expansion of retail business on the main boulevard of a Californian city is a cluster of high-class hotels and exclusive clubs. Among them is located a Congregational church. All the area beyond, rising gradually to the foothills crowned with splendid residences, is reserved for high-class single family dwellings. The location is most strategic for a family church of upper-class people.

The church has grown up with this section of the city. Its recently erected plant, a memorial chapel, is merely a first unit, designed essentially for religious education and social activities, which will later be supplemented by a great auditorium. It is one of the best pieces of church architecture in the city and, with perhaps no exception, the best in the details of its construction and equipment. When this study was made, the church had 434 members, thirty-four of whom were absent. It had 106 accessions during the year and twelve removals.

Its program is a typical elaborated program of a family church, with the leading stress on religious education, including directed activities. It uses moving-pictures for its evening service. It announces that it appeals to the high-grade transient population of the vicinity—which is somewhat of the semi-permanent type.

The staff consists of a pastor, a woman assistant to the pastor doing both clerical and parish work, and a "director of Christian education."

The present unit of the plant is worth \$125,000 and is carefully designed for efficient and fully departmentalized work in religious education as well as for the refined social life of a well-to-do parish. The vacant corner lot designed for the future auditorium is occupied by tennis and basketball courts.

The budget for current expenses in recent years has been about \$12,500. Besides this, \$7,500 was paid during the year preceding the case study on the building indebtedness.

A printed list of the boundaries of the "circles" into which the parish is divided for social purposes indicates that above a half, and probably two-thirds, of the members' families live in the western half of this section of the city within a half mile of the church, the remainder being scattered throughout the section.

A church operating on such a scale and with such tastes as are expressed in its appointments and publicity inevitably draws people by selection. Its program seems to bring its adherents into many and close human relationships. In this respect its program is as different as possible from one that deals with transient crowds in the downtown section.

It is a social center for a select group to which it furnishes religious inspiration and social and clubhouse facilities. Everything about the church is cultured, business-like, and popular in a restrained way. The leadership is competent and congenial with the ways of its constituency.

In brief the church is an upper middle-class family institution with an elaborated program that it is carrying out in a way technically very superior.

Such a church is a characteristic expression of the religious faith of its constituency. It enables the social group which it represents to realize

itself in a more Christian manner than it would otherwise do and probably more humbly and thoughtfully, but it is far from being a revolutionary institution.

In time the church will complete a great plant. Its community will be much larger in population. The business center will be more important and will gather around it a rim of less desirable people. The zoning ordinance and the topography of the district will probably hold it to a superior quality of residential occupancy for many years. As the reflection of such an environment the church ought to have a great future. But whether its present version of adaptation to the city will fit it for leadership as inevitable changes come remains to be seen.

A not infrequent aspect of the internally adapted church in such residential surroundings is its service to a wider circle than is identified with it religiously. Thus, a church in one of the best sections of a Californian city is a regular meeting place of the neighborhood Merchants Association, the headquarters of a community athletic club and of a great variety of group organizations only remotely attached to the church. The aggregate monthly attendance at the activities of its center is about 4,000, fully one-half of whom, it is believed, are not connected with the church on its religious side.

TWO PROBLEMS OF ELABORATION

The difference between elaboration in residential areas and elaboration "downtown" requires explanation. The full round of age-, and sex-groups, for whose service the elaboration of program is presumed to occur, are normally present in churches of the former environment but not in downtown constituencies. Thus, the deficiency of the downtown church in younger Sunday-school pupils has already had notice.²³

The downtown church, in other words, has actually fewer different age-, and sex-groups accessible to its ministries than the average church. Why then is an elaborated program adopted and how does it register adaptation?

Prof. W. L. Bailey points out that there are really two problems of elaboration: first, to meet the needs of the age-, and sex-groups centering in the family; and secondly, to provide for the particular conditions which distinguish the larger cities; namely, a large excess of employed adolescents, a preponderance of male population in nearly all downtown sections, and disproportionate numbers of the unmarried.

While, therefore, the internally adapted churches in the residential section may develop the outlines of an all-sided program and become the church homes of near-by people on a varied and somewhat ample scale, when the centrally located church elaborates its

²³ See p. 160.

program it must put on a more complete and extended set of activities to meet the needs of these distinctive urban classes so largely detached from the family setting.

Many of them it finds living in rooming-houses or in furnished apartments for transients adjoining the central business sections of cities, or in its downtown hotels. Others it attracts from long distances.

THE "DOWNTOWN-MINDED"

The internally adapted downtown church is able to give the service it does because of the habitual attachment that young people without family ties acquire for the city center. This center is the focus of their work and of their pleasure and is more "home" to them than any other place in the city. A centrally located church with an elaborated program meets their habits and their needs as the ultra-mobile and wide-ranging elements of the population. They are, however, generally without financial strength enough to sustain a great downtown enterprise. Such an enterprise can rarely succeed, therefore, unless it has a nucleus of old and well-to-do members, established in the community, who give the enterprise its standing and largely pay the bills.

DUAL CONSTITUENCIES

In this subtype (D II) accordingly, one finds the most frequent traces of dual constituencies. The church consists of two sets of people, representing older and newer strata of the constituency respectively. The two do not always agree perfectly; but the church has to have both, one to furnish the numbers, the other to furnish the money. Between the two the most highly elaborated programs are worked out. The downtown internally adapted church is typically a little larger and more expensive an enterprise than the residential one. Its Sunday school is stronger in young people than that of any other type, thus confirming the diagnosis which identifies this church with detached city youth rallying to a downtown center. All the additional activities, movies, Sunday evening socials, forums, etc., are most developed with churches of this variety.

Case XIX—Subtype D II

This is very definitely a church of the downtown-minded showing a dual constituency. Eighty per cent. of its membership comes from within a mile of the church site, but 99 per cent. of the leadership is said to reside in remote parts of the city.

Its story is as follows: For a quarter of a century the leading churches

of a Missouri city occupied the brow of the hill east from the central business section. The growth of the city was toward the northeast and prestige and advantage lay this way. Later one of those dramatic and sudden turns of the tide of population left this area completely encircled by movements of foreign and Negro populations, and swept church after church from its old site with the new current of growth and prestige toward the south.

The destruction of its building by fire in 1917 gave opportunity for this leading church of the Disciples of Christ to join the general procession.

The immediate vicinity of the building was occupied by cheaply built wooden apartment hotels characteristic of the city. They present some of the most unsatisfactory traits of multi-family dwellings. Business was steadily encroaching upon the district and the desirable residences of a former decade were now occupied by Negroes and transient population. The main physical improvements, including the new civic center and Union Station, had moved farther south.

Nevertheless, the church decided to stay, deliberately accepting the rôle of a downtown church. It erected a plain but commodious church building designed to house numerous activities and especially to afford an enriched social life for the community. It provides the standard facilities of a modernly organized Sunday school, full-size gymnasium, and unusually well-designed provision for general social life and meetings of small groups. The architecture and appointments carry out the downtown atmosphere.

What has come of the decision to stay may be judged from the following sample program which unquestionably merits the designation "elaborated."

Sunday. Class breakfast; Bible school; two church services; four Christian Endeavor services; baptismal service; choral club rehearsal; two junior choir rehearsals; one junior orchestra rehearsal; one Dynamo orchestra rehearsal; one committee meeting.

Monday. Ministerial Alliance; gymnasium; Christian Endeavor social.

Tuesday. Graded Sunday-school union; religious school of education; music teachers' association musical; gymnasium.

Wednesday. Buxton School of Music; gymnasium; play rehearsal; dinner; finance meeting.

Thursday. Sewing circle; committee meeting; parliamentary law class; gymnasium; play rehearsal; dinner; prayer meeting; choir practice.

Friday. Girl's club; picture show.

Saturday. Blue Birds; Camp Fire Girls; boys' class picnic; Boston School of Music; junior choir; junior orchestra; gymnasium.

There are from three to seven meetings of subsidiary groups per day resulting in a total of 588 for the four months for which the records were examined, or an average of 147 per month. Besides the ordinary religious service, a type of Sunday evening preaching is offered which may fairly be characterized as sensational. Illustrative topics were: "The picture Fatty Arbuckle did not intend to release." "The Ku Klux Klan—blessing or menace?" "William J. Bryan says universities are hot beds of infidelity and irreligion. Is he right?" "A sermon to Satan."

In the summer, evening services are held in a neighboring auto park following a band concert.

Such a program has been accompanied by an intensive culture for five years of a parish area about a mile in diameter.

The church undertakes no slum activities or other program indicating that its constituents are under special social handicap. It exists rather for the transient and unplaced multitudes largely living in temporary quarters and without permanent homes. It is a place of resort for the downtown-minded, a place, for example, where students "drop in." Many students from neighboring schools are brought into church activities

largely in connection with the various choirs, three of which sing antiphonally in the evening service. This phase of the work is in charge of a special musical director. The other staff consists of a pastor and a woman assistant.

The atmosphere and central location of the church make it a natural place for union religious effort seeking a downtown center. It has housed a school of week-day religious education for all the denominations and is frequently the place of other interdenominational meetings.

All told, it is a fair example of a downtown church with an elaborated program serving the more transient elements of the community.

In such cases the older element of the constituency usually sticks to its downtown church home from a sense of loyalty or because it finds its prestige renewed by the incoming of downtown-minded people. Some of the most popular and successful churches of the American city are of this type, especially in cities that have failed to develop influential sub-centers to rival the original center.

LARGER URBAN-MINDEDNESS

A further qualification needs to be added; namely, that some of the older and better established populations themselves experience their own version of downtown-mindedness. The strongest and most rewarding ties of many Americans are found where they work and with their working associates rather than where they are said to "live." This minority of people have the urban impulse not because they are immature but because they are mature. They think in terms of the city as a whole and wish to join in religious fellowship with fellow-workers with whom they have common interests. These often contribute to the success of the downtown internally adapted church and sometimes dominate it. In rare cases they have reiterated the civic and social notes in religion till these have become the major clew to the church's life.

ELABORATION OF PROGRAM BY SMALL CHURCHES

A study of cases shows that genuine elaboration of program is possible under exceptional conditions without exceptional plant, budget or multiple staff. Over one-fourth of the churches of the type are served by a single pastor each. Under such circumstances success usually depends upon a semi-detached and homogeneous community of at least ordinarily well-circumstanced people, sometimes a neighborhood of high-grade workingmen. A definite idea of the kind of service the church proposes to enter, a specially planned, though modest, building, or even the utilization of the homes of the community, together with a specially trained pastor and a set of neighbors who want to do much of their living together,

make this possible. The key to the situation is the minister, but the situation itself must not be too set by tradition. Consequently, small internally adapted churches are commonly new ones that started out with a real urban version of service and put it into execution on a modest scale without having to live down an obstructionist past. It goes without saying that most of the labor of such a church will be the ordinary services of unpaid people skillfully organized. It means the intensive cultivation of the neighborhood spirit and the practice of many aspects of life in common.

Case XX—Subtype C II

This case furnishes an example of such a situation. It is the youngest Methodist church in a New England city and has primary Protestant responsibility for a great sector of its industrial frontier that has been largely neglected by organized Protestantism. It occupies the center of the district shown by a recent survey to have the largest percentage of unchurched Protestants but is strong enough to cultivate intensively only its immediate neighborhood. Its parish is very compact. The church originated as a Sunday school, and its present Sunday school of 151 pupils is still the only one in the city that is larger than the church membership. The Sunday school is thus the most outstanding feature in the church's program. With a church membership of 150, the church is the twenty-ninth in size among the forty-three churches of the city. In attendance at morning service it ranks twenty-fourth, but in total aggregate hours of service, twenty-second. It is thus a large church in service, considering its membership size. Its average monthly program involves sixteen and four-tenths hours of service per member. This contrasts strikingly with the average for the city of from ten to eleven hours.

But while ranking high in activity, the church shows immaturity and instability on the financial side. The pastor's salary of \$1,800 is below the modal average, and the contributions from within the church for operating expenses have not held their own in relation to the decreasing value of the dollar.

The church possesses a small plant—worth \$50,000—but one of the most artistic and modern ones in the city, including among its total of fourteen rooms a community hall and gymnasium. The excellent landscaping of the grounds is a feature unique among the churches of its city. The church is still, however, very deficient in furnishing and facilities for carrying on an adequate program.

This case shows how a small church may still have an elaborated program. It must appeal to the community beyond sectarian lines; it must create the habit of using the church as a center; it must have competent leadership; and it must have adequate equipment. This church lacks some of the accepted ecclesiastical organizations of its denomination. For example, it has no women's home missionary society. It shows financial weakness and its ladies' aid society has to help largely to meet the current running expenses—just as it might in a country church. It has specially selected leadership, however, and with denominational encouragement is able to undertake numerous unique services. It maintains three orchestras, a choral organization, several "Achievement Clubs" and a radio class. It reports exceptional recreational development and facilities, including a "circus equipment."

Enough examples like the above exist to make it a question whether any more unadapted or average churches should be started

by people who believe in elaborated programs. A city church need not pass through all the preliminary rural stages. It may be founded definitely on the city level and after the city pattern. Denominations that count success in these terms would be much stronger if, before establishing new enterprises, they would wait until they could command enough following and resources to begin at least on the minimum elaborated scale. The extension work of the Methodist Episcopal church in the use of some of its "Centenary" funds amply demonstrates this conclusion.

SUMMARY

The broadened and rounded program of the internally adapted church is thus seen to be an adaptation to urban psychology and to the essentials of the urban situation. It intends to reflect and to serve life as city people more and more live it. Within the scope of this general purpose differences in environmental demands serve to give the downtown internally adapted church a more extensive program. It brings its constituents—largely young people—from farther off; while the internally adapted church in the residential districts serves neighborhoods whose families require an elaborate set of age-, and sex-organizations to care for the specialized needs of their members, and who make the church a sort of local clubhouse as well as a religious center.

Chapter IX

THE SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCH

This chapter presents the results of the study of 110 churches whose programs go beyond those of the internally adapted churches in both number and range of activities and include items that seem to show on their face adaptation of program and method to the service of peculiar constituencies, frequently those laboring under social handicaps.

Individual study of the churches of this group proved that this generalization was not absolutely true in every case and that frequently socially adapted churches had two constituencies, only one of which was peculiar or in need of specialized ministries. These facts require and receive further comment.¹ The general character of the type, however, is accurately suggested by the designation "socially adapted." Churches of this type constitute 10.5 per cent. of the 1,044 churches studied. In Subtype D III are forty-three churches, or 4.1 per cent. of the total 1,044, and in Subtype E II are sixty-seven churches, or 6.4 per cent. of the total.

PROGRAM

The program of the socially adapted churches covers the entire range of organizations and activities measured by the frequency list which was the basis of the total classification and interpretative of the types. Subtype D III, however, is limited to thirteen to seventeen activities, while Subtype E II has from seventeen to twenty.²

The content of the program and typical distribution of activities are shown and illustrated by sample programs for each of the subtypes in Table XXXV, which also compares their programs with those of seven church centers and settlements (selected from cases incidentally included in the survey) so as to show examples both of relatively small and relatively large programs.

The contrast in the above sample programs between the thinly developed social service functions in Subtype D III and the much more complete development in Subtype E II is striking. Minor

¹ See p. 189.

² A small number of churches actually reported more than twenty activities, but they were too few to constitute a group for separate statistical handling and were therefore classified with those having from seventeen to twenty.

TABLE XXV—SAMPLE PROGRAMS OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES AND OF CHURCH CENTERS AND SETTLEMENTS

Organizations and Activities	Socially Adapted Type D III					Subtype E II					Church Centers and Settlements						
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Preaching and Sunday School	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*							*
2. Ladies' Aid or Guild	*		*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*						
3. Women's Missionary Society	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*							
4. Young People's Society	*		*	*		*	*	*		*				*		*	
5. Chorus Choir..	*		*	*		*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*		
6. General Social Events	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*							
7. Men's Organization	*	*	*	*	*	*		*		*					*		*
8. Boy Scouts		*	*		*				*	*			*	*			*
9. Mission Study Classes	*				*	*	*	*	*	*							
10. Organized Welcome	*		*			*	*	*		*							
11. Orchestra or Band	*		*					*					*				
12. Boys' Club (not Scouts)		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*		
13. Lectures	*		*		*		*	*	*	*			*		*		
14. Library	*	*		*	*	*		*	*	*		*	*	*	*		
15. Girls' Club (not Scouts)	*					*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*			
16. Concerts							*	*		*			*				
17. Girl Scouts or Equivalent ..		*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*			*				*
18. Mothers' or Parents' Organization		*		*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*		*
19. Young Women's Organization .		*					*		*				*				*
20. Dramatic Club.						*	*	*				*	*		*		*
21. Gymnasium Classes				*		*	*	*	*	*	*		*		*		
22. Sewing Classes.	*		*	*		*	*	*	*	*		*	*		*		*
23. Kindergarten ..					*	*		*	*		*	*		*			
24. Domestic Science Classes..		*	*	*	*			*				*	*		*	*	*
25. Employment Office	*	*				*	*	*							*		
26. Music Classes..							*		*				*				*
27. Visiting Nurse.		*	*	*	*			*								*	
28. Health Classes.		*						*					*			*	
29. English Classes						*		*								*	
30. Dramatic Classes			*	*				*					*				
31. Day Nursery ..	*	*					*	*	*				*		*	*	*
32. Dispensary or Clinic								*	*							*	
33. Civics and Economic Classes		*															
	15	16	15	16	14	20	20	22	24	20	5	6	17	9	11	7	11

differences also appear; for example, the Boy Scout type of organization is the most frequent general form of boys' work with churches in general. With socially adapted churches, however, this is less frequent than other types of boys' clubs, a fact quite probably reflecting a difference in the type of constituency.

The outstanding difference between the socially adapted churches and the centers and settlements is unmistakable. Whether the programs of the latter are larger or smaller, they differ from those of the churches in omitting many of the most frequent and conventional of church functions. On the other hand, however many social service activities the churches may add they are still attached to old ecclesiastical roots.

DISTINCTIVE ELEMENTS OF PROGRAM

Roughly summarized, the new elements of program characteristics of the socially adapted churches are:

- (1) Child welfare—kindergarten, day nurseries.
- (2) Health—clinics and dispensaries.
- (3) Education—English and civics classes; "Americanization"; domestic science and art.
- (4) Culture—music, dramatics and fine arts.
- (5) Vocational—vocational advice; employment agencies.

This list includes a range of activities exceeding that of any other type of church in its variety of organization and lines of work by 50 per cent. Only 10.5 per cent. of the city churches included in the 1,044 cases attempt anything in this new realm, and the frequency of some of the activities is only 3 or 4 per cent. in the entire sample.

Certain additional activities are characteristic of the socially adapted churches and of no other type; for example, separate children's congregations; the use of visual means of instruction, especially motion-pictures; daily vacation Bible schools; Sunday afternoon socials or teas.

A church with such a program is naturally open seven days in the week. Various items of recreation are nearly always organized into many-sided programs. Often the socially adapted church attempts to direct popular thought through the maintenance of a church forum. A considerable number of them provide dormitories or make other efforts to secure proper housing for their constituencies.³

Other Aspects of the Socially Adapted Church

To carry on this greatly enlarged program naturally requires enlarged staffs of paid workers, larger buildings and more numerous

³ Appendix Table 36.

facilities than the other church types have. The average membership of the socially adapted church is larger, as is the value of the church property. The average current expenses are not so great as those of the internally adapted church. The evidence of these points appears in the following paragraphs.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Nearly one-half of the socially adapted churches have more than one thousand members. Distribution according to membership size is shown in Table XXXVI:⁴

TABLE XXXVI—MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution</i>
Under 500	26.2
Under 100	2.9
100 to 200	2.9
200 to 300	7.8
300 to 400	3.9
400 to 500	8.7
500 to 1,000	28.2
1,000 and over	45.6

* 103 churches reporting.

AGE AND PERMANENCE

Fourteen out of the eighty-three churches of the type reporting as to age are more than one hundred years old, and only twelve, or about one-seventh, are less than twenty-five years old.

While the median age of all churches of the type is fifty-five years, the median length of time that the church has been located on its present site is only thirty-six years. Nevertheless, more churches of this type than of any other—31.8 per cent. in all—have never moved but are still located where they were first founded. It is preëminently the type which stays and adapts its program to changed conditions.

PAID RELIGIOUS WORKERS

The most frequent number of paid workers is two; yet only 34 per cent. of the socially adapted churches have one or two workers, while 37.7 per cent. have three or four, and 28.3 per cent. have five or more. Detailed figures are shown in Table XXXVII.

Subtype D III, however, rarely goes beyond six workers, leaving nearly all the very large staffs to Subtype E II.⁵

⁴ Appendix Table 5.

⁵ Appendix Table 9.

TABLE XXXVII—PAID RELIGIOUS WORKERS IN
SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
1	11.3
2	22.6
3	17.9
4	19.8
5	12.3
6	7.6
7	1.9
8	3.8
9	0.9
10 and over	1.9

* 106 churches reporting.

The following comparison shows the designations used for men and women assistants, together with the number falling under each designation:

<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
Total male assistants	97	Total female assistants	165
Assistant pastor	48	Secretary	59
Director men's and boys' work..	16	Director social service	25
Director recreation or athletics..	14	Deaconess	23
Director religious education	9	Visitor	16
Secretary	6	Director women's and girls' work	13
Director social service	4	Matron or housekeeper	13
		Pastor's assistant	9
		Director religious education	7

Both with men and women assistants, the conventional and non-specialized positions designated respectively "assistant pastor" and "secretary" are the most frequent. The other designations used suggest the range of functions performed, though, as already explained, only exact job analysis could tell exactly what functions are performed under each of them.

THE PASTOR

The education of the city pastor is so highly standardized that there is little difference between the types in the number of conventionally prepared men. One-third of the pastors of socially adapted churches, however, have had more than conventional preparation (including some form of post-graduate work), this being conspicuously the case with pastors of churches with the most varied programs.⁶

⁶ Appendix Table 13.

The socially adapted church keeps more elderly men in its service than does the average or any other type, as is evident from Table XXXVIII.

TABLE XXXVIII—LENGTH OF PASTORS' EXPERIENCE IN SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES

<i>No. Years' Experience</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors</i>	
	<i>City Churches*</i>	<i>Socially Adapted Churches†</i>
Less than 10	28.5	16.7
Less than 5	12.5	3.7
5-9	16.0	13.0
10-19	25.1	27.8
20-29	31.0	33.3
30-39	12.0	20.4
40 and over	3.4	1.8
* 582 reporting.		
† 54 reporting.		

What do these results indicate? Is it that the executive powers and social sympathies necessary to lead a socially adapted enterprise enable a man to continue longer in the pastorate than do the polite social qualities or the pulpit fire and eloquence traditionally demanded by other types of churches? The average tenure of the pastor is slightly above that of city churches in general.⁷

While salaries of from \$3,000 to \$4,000 are the most frequent in churches of this type, one-fourth of the pastors receive less than

TABLE XXXIX—SALARIES OF PASTORS OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES*

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors</i>
Under \$1,000 .....	....
\$1,000 to \$2,000	10.5
\$2,000 to \$3,000	14.9
\$3,000 to \$4,000	20.9
\$4,000 to \$5,000	14.9
\$5,000 to \$6,000	13.4
\$6,000 to \$7,000	14.9
\$7,000 to \$8,000	6.0
\$8,000 and over	4.5
* 67 pastors reporting.	

\$3,000, and one-fourth receive more than \$6,000. This shows a wide variation in salaries. In considering the larger salaries it should be recalled that they are paid to men conducting a very complicated social enterprise involving the direction of many associates as well as of the traditional activities of an urban church.

The distribution of pastors' salaries is shown in Table XXXIX.⁸

⁷ Appendix Tables 12 and 14.

⁸ Appendix Table 15.

FINANCES

The less than 10 per cent. of socially adapted churches operating at an annual cost of \$5,000 may be branch churches that have their overhead costs partly carried by others, or they may be churches attempting social adaptation on very humble levels. That the range of annual expenditure is very great, is shown in Table XL.⁹

TABLE XL—CURRENT EXPENSES OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
Under \$5,000	9.0
\$1,000 to \$2,000	1.0
\$2,000 to \$3,000	1.0
\$3,000 to \$4,000	5.0
\$4,000 to \$5,000	2.0
\$5,000 to \$10,000	16.0
\$10,000 to \$15,000	24.0
\$15,000 to \$20,000	7.0
\$20,000 to \$25,000	13.0
\$25,000 to \$50,000	22.0
\$50,000 to \$75,000	6.0
\$75,000 and over	3.0

* 100 churches reporting.

Annual budgets of from \$10,000 to \$15,000 and from \$25,000 to \$50,000 are found with about equal frequency. Three churches out of the 1,044 studied—all belonging to this type—reported annual budgets of more than \$75,000 each. This sum is more than the annual cost of many of the smaller colleges.

The socially adapted church shows a larger per capita benevolence than any other, its average of \$12.55 being contrasted with an average of \$11.52 for the 1,044 churches. A probable explanation is that churches of this type sometimes credit their own social work to benevolence.

PROPERTY

The large size and high property value of the churches of this type and the noteworthy contrast between the subtypes appear in the comparison in Table XLI.¹⁰

The socially adapted church most frequently has from ten to nineteen rooms, almost half of the number falling within this range, while only about one-fifth have fewer than ten rooms. The distribution appears in detail in Table XLII.¹¹

⁹ Appendix Tables 24 and 24a.

¹⁰ Appendix Tables 29 and 30.

¹¹ Appendix Table 28.

TABLE XLI—AVERAGE CAPACITY OF CHURCH AUDITORIUM AND VALUE OF CHURCH PLANT OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES

	<i>Socially Adapted Churches</i>	<i>Subtype D III</i>	<i>Subtype E II</i>
Seating Capacity of Auditorium ..	880	821	959
Value of Property	\$242,194	\$208,111	\$266,811

In socially adapted churches a total of from fifteen to nineteen equipment facilities (within a total list of twenty-five such facilities) is most frequently found. One-third of the churches of the type, however, have only from ten to fourteen facilities, though not many have fewer than ten. There are more churches with many rooms and many facilities in Subtype E II than in Subtype D III.¹²

TABLE XLII—NUMBER OF ROOMS IN SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES *

<i>No. of Rooms</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution of Churches</i>
Less than 5	2.9
5-9	19.1
10-19	47.1
20-29	13.2
30 and over	17.7

* 68 churches reporting.

SUNDAY SCHOOL

More than one-half of the Sunday schools of socially adapted churches have fewer than 500 members, but over one-third have from 500 to 1,000 members, and about one-twelfth have more than 1,000 members. When it is recalled that almost 46 per cent. of the churches of the type have more than 1,000 members, a great discrepancy between the size of the church and of the Sunday school becomes apparent. This is more marked with churches of Subtype E II than with those of Subtype D III. In the ratio of attendance to enrollment, the churches of the type closely approximate the average. No other type has so large a proportion of adolescents in Sunday-school enrollment.¹³

Environments and Parishes

Of the seventy-three socially adapted churches studied in their environments, just about one-half are centrally located. Although

¹² Appendix Table 27.

¹³ Appendix Tables 31-34.

the type constitutes but one-tenth of the total sample of 1,044 churches, of all centrally located churches whose environments were studied, one-fourth were found to be socially adapted.

Of the thirty-eight centrally located churches of this type that were studied, twenty-five stood at the center of the downtown section of their respective cities. In view of the average distance that church members are willing to come to attend church and the character of the neighborhoods, more than one-half of these were judged not to be strategically located with reference to their constituencies. Of eighteen whose neighborhoods were intensively studied, five were in high-class neighborhoods, two in middle-class and eleven in low-class, the last being chiefly in industrial neighborhoods, but with some examples in slum territory. In the majority of cases, though not always, the programs of these centrally located churches definitely reflect the immediate environment in some degree.

Of thirty-four churches of the type located in residential neighborhoods, ten were found in high-class neighborhoods, nineteen in middle-class and five in industrial neighborhoods. In brief, residential examples of the type were found in all sorts of environments and reflecting all social levels.¹⁴ This fact concerning a type which has frequently been assumed to require a sub-normal constituency to justify its work needs further explanation.¹⁵

DISTANCE AND DIRECTION

With half of its churches centrally located, the socially adapted type naturally has a relatively large number of scattered and very scattered parishes in which more than 50 per cent. of the members

TABLE XLIII—TYPES OF PARISHES OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES

<i>Per Cent. of Members Living Within One Mile</i>	<i>Parish Designation</i>	<i>Distribution of Churches</i>		
		<i>All Socially Adapted</i>	<i>Centrally Located</i>	<i>Residen- tially Located</i>
75 and over	Compact	14	5	9
50-74	Medium	16	12	4
25-49	Scattered	6	3	3
Less than 25	Very Scattered	3	3	0

come a mile or more to church. This appears in Table XLIII, based upon thirty-nine cases studied from this point of view.¹⁶ Only the unadapted type has so few compact parishes.

¹⁴ Appendix Tables 37-39a.

¹⁵ See pp. 265 f.

¹⁶ Appendix Tables 41 and 42.

For twenty churches studied with respect to the direction of their members' homes from the church building, the following distribution was discovered.¹⁷

<i>Destination</i>	<i>No. of Churches</i>
Normally balanced parish	5
Unbalanced	2
Very unbalanced	13

So far as the evidence goes, the churches of this type manifest a strong trend toward constituencies massed in narrow sectors

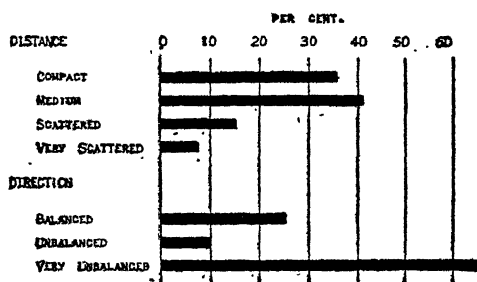


CHART XXVII

Per Cent. Distribution of Types of Parishes of Socially Adapted Churches, by Distance and Direction.

rather than distributed widely around the church building. This would be but natural in so far as their services are specialized in meeting the needs of peculiar populations.

Larger Environments and Relations

REGION

No other type of city church shows such sharp regional variations. Constituting 10.5 per cent. of the sample of 1,044 churches, the socially adapted churches number 8.7 per cent. in the north-eastern states, 7.3 per cent. in the southern, but 20.1 per cent. in the north central and only 1.6 per cent. in the western states. More than anywhere else, apparently, certain cities of the north central states have evolved the phase of adaptation of service-functions which this type of church expresses.¹⁸

¹⁷ Appendix Table 43.

¹⁸ Appendix Table 47.

SIZE OF CITY

The above statement must immediately be related to the data concerning relation of the types to cities of different sizes as shown in Table XLIV.¹⁹

TABLE XLIV—RATIO OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES TO TOTAL CHURCHES, IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE

<i>Population of City</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
100,000 to 250,000	7.2
250,000 to 500,000	9.6
500,000 to 750,000	7.9
750,000 to 1,000,000	12.9
1,000,000 and over	23.0
All cities	10.5

The affinity of the socially adapted type for the largest cities is strongly suggestive. Inasmuch as Chicago is the only city of the north central states with more than one million population, it is manifest that the superiority of these states in number of socially adapted churches may largely rest with this single city. Some bias in the selection of Chicago churches for study in favor of the more interesting types of social adaptation is probable. The fact, however, that cities of 750,000 to 1,000,000 population also show more than an average number of socially adapted churches makes the generalization highly reliable that the larger the city the more churches it will have of the highest degree of development and adaptation.

RACE

Of the fifty-seven "foreign churches" studied, only two belong to the socially adapted type. This showing may occasion some surprise in view of the natural supposition that social adaptation follows social needs. Why not, then, the exceptional needs of the foreign-speaking Protestants of the American cities? An answer to this question will be found in a following section, in which it will be shown that foreign-speaking churches that are not slightly adapted or unadapted chiefly fall within the widely variant type, which may represent exact and original, but nevertheless partial and unbalanced, efforts at social adaptation. The fully developed church program exhibited in the socially adapted type has not often been developed exclusively in the service of the foreign-born.

¹⁹ Appendix Table 46.

DENOMINATION

Table XLV shows the per cent. of the churches of the several denominations that are socially adapted compared with their proportion in the total number of churches studied.²⁰

TABLE XLV—DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCHES, BY DENOMINATIONS

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution Total Churches Studied</i>	<i>Socially Adapted Churches</i>
Baptist	15.8	20.0
Congregational	10.5	9.1
Disciples	4.4	1.8
Methodist Episcopal	19.3	21.8
Methodist Episcopal South	3.7	4.5
Presbyterian U. S. A.	17.3	20.0
Protestant Episcopal	10.5	16.4
Lutheran (all bodies)	4.4	0.9
All others	14.1	5.5

In proportion of socially adapted churches three denominations, namely, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, and Presbyterian, U. S. A., somewhat closely approximate their proportion in the total number of churches. The Disciples and "all other" denominations have considerably fewer, and the Lutheran very many fewer socially adapted churches; while the Methodist Episcopal, South, Baptist and Protestant Episcopal denominations have proportionately very many more. Variations between the denominations in this field are of genuine interest and may constitute a challenge to denominational policy.

Divergent Tendencies Within the Socially Adapted Type

Between the subtypes D III and E II no great difference appears with respect to permanence, range of staff functions, pastor's experience, proportion of salaries in the higher salary range, per capita cost of current expenses, Sunday-school enrollment in the higher range, age-distribution of Sunday-school pupils or environmental location.

The points at which divergence appears and its direction and approximate degree are shown by the tabulation on page 183.

The contrast between the subtypes is definitely that between smaller general development going with a narrower program and larger general development going with a broader one. Environmental tendencies, however, are somewhat contradictory.

<i>Divergent Aspect</i>	<i>Subtype D III</i>	<i>Subtype E II</i>
Size	More under 500 members	More over 1,000 members
Age	More younger churches	More older churches
Staff-number	Fewer staffs with 6 workers and over	More staffs with 6 workers and over
Pastor's education	Fewer with post-graduate education	More with post-graduate education
Pastor's tenure in present position	Trend to briefer tenure	Trend to longer tenure
Pastor's salary	More under \$3,000	Fewer under \$3,000
Per capita benevolences	Larger	Smaller
Number of facilities	Average fewer	Average greater
Rooms in church	Average fewer	Average more
Seating capacity auditorium	Average smaller	Average much greater
Value church plant	Average smaller	Average much greater
Sunday-school enrollment	More schools under 300 pupils	More schools over 300 pupils
Advantageous location of central churches	More strategic	More non-strategic
Quality of neighborhood of residential church	More industrial and foreign	More middle-class

NON-STATISTICAL DISTINCTIONS

The most significant differences within the socially adapted type are not revealed statistically, but are thoroughly substantiated by observation, and could have been statistically demonstrated had a sufficient number of cases of each variant been secured. Thus it is obvious that social adaptation to the needs of a community of native American wage-earners will not work out in identical ways with adaptation to the needs of foreign groups. Again, solid communities of a single nationality or race present different practical problems from those found in polyglot neighborhoods. Nor is social adaptation necessarily limited to communities on low economic levels. It is practiced with variations by a few churches of people in upper middle-class circumstances. Finally, the historic background of any attempt at adaptation makes a difference. If it is made by an old and traditional church the results may contrast strikingly with those obtained by a young and plastic church.

There are too many variations to permit each to be illustrated separately; but the following cases cover the three most fundamental distinctions: namely, (1) those between churches in which social adaptation is the result of local initiative; (2) those in which it is imported by forces external to the organization and neighborhood; and finally (3) those in which a dual constituency is included within the church itself—the one rendering and the other benefiting by the particular services implied in the adapted program. With churches of the first kind the members themselves constitute a self-conscious social group who have directed their church in response to a sense

of their own needs. With churches of the second kind somebody else from a philanthropic or denominational organization is attempting to provide for the needs of a poor and dependent constituency.

Case XXI—Subtype E II

This church took time by the forelock and worked out its own salvation. Impending change was sensed before it came on destructively, and when it came the church was adequately prepared to meet it.

Back in 1894 when the present church edifice was erected, the church had a large and thriving constituency in a growing part of the city. Most of its people would have described themselves as belonging to the middle class. But even then broad-minded leadership foresaw the need of a popular and varied ministry and began to prepare for it by the introduction of so-called institutional features. As the older constituency scattered throughout the city, the church had unusual success in assimilating newcomers, many of whom were of foreign extraction. More diverse foreign elements have since occupied the margins of the neighborhood, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian and Syrian people coming in increasing numbers.

In the face of these changes, the church which realized its problem from the beginning has quite naturally grown into a socially adapted ministry.

Its regular religious services gather about 300 for morning worship and 700 in the evening. The church has everything that an active and normally developed family church could have and takes an active, though not a conspicuous, share in the affairs of its denomination.

In addition to these typical activities, it maintains the "Institute" housed in a special adjunct building attached to the church, but of more recent construction. This building consists primarily of a modern gymnasium and facilities for club work.

The program of the Institute includes an entertainment course, kindergarten, mothers' club, visiting nurse service and welfare work among boys and girls. It also serves as a community center, providing organized recreation for all ages and sexes.

In addition to some \$22,000 for the church budget (including the support of a pastor receiving \$4,500, and an assistant pastor receiving \$3,000, a secretary and a visitor receiving \$1,200 and \$800 respectively), there is an Institute budget of more than \$6,000 divided as follows:

Kindergartner, Welfare Worker	\$2,000
Visiting Nurse	600
Recreational Director	600
Entertainment Series	400
Vacation School	450
Printing	200
Supplies	200
Uniforms	175
Caretaker	780
Light and Heat	700
	<hr/>
	\$6,105

The Sunday-school budget is also counted separately. It amounts to \$1,200, of which \$800 comes from the school itself. The gross budget is thus about \$30,000, besides some \$4,500 for benevolences.

The nursing service is associated with the city Visiting Nurse Association, which partially supports it.

In its week-day program the church serves an average of 150 persons per day. The professional staff numbers six, besides those in charge of the plant and the music.

This adapted program is the product of the church's own initiative and is under its exclusive support and control. Endowment furnishes a total annual income of \$9,000 for the regular church budget, in addition to which fees bring in about \$2,000 for the Institute budget. These have greatly aided the church in meeting changed conditions. It stoutly resists the implication that there is anything unusual in its course. It dislikes the term "Americanization" in connection with its successful efforts to assimilate successive waves of population. It is unwilling to concede that its program grows out of any special handicap in its constituencies. They are self-respecting people ably meeting their own problems.

The mobilizing of resident strength exhibited by Case XXI is often more important than institutions specially devised. This case and the following are excellent examples of social adaptation originating with and carried out by the resident forces themselves.

Case XXII—Subtype E II

This is another church whose "own arm wrought salvation," though it has been increasingly backed by community appreciation and assistance.

The Negro population of a northern city has remained at about 2 per cent. of the total for the last fifty years. Mission work for it was carried on from an early time, and in the oldest Negro church John Brown worshiped during his residence in the city. The present church resulted from the union of two older ones in 1890, at which time its location was fixed in the secondary Negro center on "the Hill." The original membership consisted of twenty-three members.

The development of St. John's Church since that time is covered by the pastoral leadership of a remarkable man, and to a very large measure is an expression of his personal ability and consecration. For twenty-three years he has grown into really distinguished civic and religious leadership in the city, while his persistence, calmness, balanced judgment and organizing ability have made St. John's Church what it is. Its gains have not only been among the largest but among the most consistent of any in the city. It now has 468 members, which is about the median membership of its denomination, and which puts it in the upper third of the churches of the city in respect to size. By reason of its broad program of activities its total influence is proportionately much more far-reaching than mere membership.

It is a young people's church, the average age of its members being much lower than that of the characteristic Protestant constituencies and its Sunday school particularly strong in the adolescent group. It is also one of the most highly organized churches of the city. The membership is divided into eighteen "Circles for Service" each with an objective definitely fixed annually. Partly as a result of this method the church gets an average of 15.8 hours of service per member each month, which is more than 50 per cent. above the city average.

Besides the stated activities of a church, St. John's has developed through the years a notable addition to the social institutions of the city called St. John's Institutional Activities. The staff, plant and budget are shared by the two branches of the enterprise in ways impossible to distinguish clearly. The church reports an assistant pastor in charge of religious education and a church visitor. Its annual budget of expenditures is about \$6,000 and the church plant is worth about \$40,000. The interior has distinct ecclesiastical dignity and there is an excellent pipe organ.

The total enterprise has a staff of eight full-time paid workers, together with five additional ones giving part-time, and represents an annual expenditure of about \$20,000. In addition to the church building, the plant includes a specially designed working girls' home of twenty-eight rooms and eight dwelling-houses for rent. Of the latter two are one-tenement houses, five have three tenements and one has eight tenements. These house a total of twenty-eight families as well as various phases of the church's social work.

The institutional activities are organized in seven departments:

(1) Two rooms in the church are open daily as a headquarters for women and there are classes in cooking, arts and domestic science. Classes in gymnasium work are held three nights a week in the basement of a near-by public school. A social hour for both sexes is held in these rooms each Sunday.

(2) A home for working girls includes living quarters at nominal cost for both transient and resident guests and is designed to furnish a suitable and comfortable home for colored girls attempting self-support among the unaccustomed surroundings of a northern city. The home was erected at a cost of \$15,000.

(3) A boys' and young men's club occupies a nine-room dwelling-house and is a meeting place for recreation for the young men of the vicinity. They are afforded excellent athletic opportunities in the use of the near-by college gymnasium which is made freely available to Negro young men.

(4) The housing facilities already enumerated constitute a notable aspect of the St. John's Institutional Activities. As a movement it grew out of the difficulty that colored people found in securing suitable living quarters during the war-shortage of houses.

(5) A fifty-four-acre outing farm in a near-by rural town is successfully administered by the church both as a summer recreation center and as a means of summer employment. During the mornings a farm manager uses boys sent by the church for work, while afternoons are spent in recreation and sociability.

(6) The department of music organizes the unusual musical gift of Negro people and has been a considerable source of financial support as well as of publicity for the enterprise. It conducts a vested choir, glee club, band and a Saturday morning music school for children.

(7) A free employment bureau places an average of twelve persons per month in response to an average of thirty calls. Girls living in the home and others are trained by the church for domestic and other opportunities of service.

The primary relationships of St. John's Church and Institutional Activities are with the Negro community on "the Hill." Its parish is very compact, though its superior facilities, standards and program naturally give it city-wide appeal to the better element of the Negro community. More than three-fourths of its constituency come from areas of medium social quality. It has a large development of charitable relief for the very poor, but its particular success is in organizing the initiative and moral tone of the Negro community for the support of normal and worthy social life.

The Institutional Activities are separately incorporated and are controlled by an able board of directors which includes representative citizens both white and colored. Their general value and the non-sectarian character of the work has secured them recognition and aid from the Community Chest.

The difference between socially adapted churches that have initiated their own programs and those whose adaptation has been pro-

jected from outside is of fundamental practical importance. Though outside of the categories statistically developed by the study, this difference in practice involves an exact discrimination between the socially adapted churches of industrial populations of American or Americanized stock and those of more recently arrived foreign and polyglot neighborhoods. These latter remain to be illustrated.

Case XXIII—Subtype E II

The "Institutional Church" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in a Missouri city is essentially a church made to order—a creation rather than a spontaneous growth. The usual story of social adaptation tells of changing conditions that have challenged an existing local church to adapt itself to the new order. The present case, on the other hand, exemplifies the deliberate attempt of a denomination to devise a specialized urban type of ministry in a rapidly growing city.

The church is located on an edge of the bluffs overlooking the original site of the city in the Missouri River bottoms. It is on a margin of the present business section at the exact point where the foreign and Negro population from the lowlands first broke over the bluffs and invaded the better residential section, scattering its people and driving out its churches. At this strategic point of redistribution of population and of social need the church has stood for fourteen years.

The church explicitly proclaims its theory of service in its publication of announcements. It exists "to overcome bad heredity and to create a better environment." It seeks to strengthen the demoralized home. It lays chief stress on service to child life.

Its constituency is principally composed of Americans of the transient and boarding-house type, but also, in increasing numbers, of Italians, Hebrews and Syrians. Negroes also are included to some extent in the social ministries. In other words, the church has a typically polyglot constituency.

Its relationships are unusually complicated. First of all, it is a dual organization consisting (1) of a weak church drawing membership from a total of twenty-one families and standing in the usual ecclesiastical relationships and (2) of an institutional or settlement department separately supported and administered by the women's board of city missions of the denomination. This board is a large body with numerous representatives from each Southern Methodist church of the city, and from these churches large numbers of volunteer workers are obtained.

The health activities are primarily financed by the Community Chest, which aids the institution to an amount of about \$8,000 annually. The clinic and nursing service thus have primary relations to social agencies outside of denominational control.

Besides a pastor, the staff of workers primarily concerned with the institutional work consists of a head resident, a secretary, two deaconesses working for American and Italian families respectively, a matron and eight or nine part-time paid workers for handcraft, music and recreation, besides a nurse in charge of infant welfare work.

The annual budget aggregates from \$18,000 to \$20,000, about \$13,500 of which is directly spent in institutional ministries.

Besides a wide variety of children's welfare activities, the chief work is for women, the greatest response coming from foreign mothers and employed girls. There are successful clubs for younger boys, but the work is a relative failure with older boys and men.

Specific activities are reported as follows:

Daily Vacation Bible School
 Saturday Afternoon Bible School
 Day Nursery
 Kindergarten (Saturday afternoon)
 Reading-room
 Story Hour
 Kitchen garden
 Camp Fire
 Blue Birds
 Boy Scouts
 Knights of the Silver Shield
 Choral Club
 Philathea Club
 Dramatic Class
 Piano Lessons
 Italian Mothers' Club

Junior Italian Boys' Club
 Young Matrons' Knitting Club
 Gymnasium for Italian Boys, Four Teams
 Gymnasium for American Boys
 Gymnasium for Jewish Boys, One Team
 Gymnasium for Young Women, Two Teams
 Gymnasium for Girls, Two Teams
 Gymnasium for Italian Women, One Team
 Home Economics Class, Italian Women
 Supper Club for Young Women
 Industrial Classes
 Community Social Evenings
 Senior Italian Girls' Club
 Junior Italian Girls' Club

As will be noted, Americans and Italians are ordinarily organized into separate groups.

Besides the institutional ministries, the deaconesses' work involves a large amount of family relief. The entire body of Southern Methodist churches of the Southwestern Missouri Conference are annually solicited for food supplies and old clothes which are distributed to the needy, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners being a special feature.

Week-day religious education is carried on throughout the year in a Saturday evening Bible school having an average attendance of more than 150 Italian children. The church has received interested coöperation from the Camp Fire Girls and Boy Scouts in adapting their programs to its special constituencies.

The relative service of the church to the various racial elements of its community is interestingly shown in the following table:

Activity	Total	Italian	American	Hebrew	Syrian	German	Irish	Greek	Negro
Day Nursery	85	21	40	3	18	3	0	0	0
Baby Clinic	667	420	135	67	17	1	3	1	23
Clubs and Group Organizations—									
Junior	490	416	51	13	10	0	0	0	0
Intermediate	46	1	41	4	0	0	0	0	0
Senior	131	25	83	23	0	0	0	0	0
Adult	166	164	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sunday School	263	52	201	1	6	3	0	0	0
Daily Vacation Bible School	448	406	28	9	5	0	0	0	0

As is the universal experience of similar churches, the health and recreational opportunities are used by populations whose religious antecedents make them inaccessible to Sunday school and church services. The strong preponderance of Italians in the daily vacation Bible school is interesting, and a very definite religious element runs throughout the activities of the institution.

A very useful adjunct institution is a children's home in another part of the city.

The Institutional Church is an example of a definitely paternalistic type of social adaptation. Its motive and resources are almost wholly external to the community, although the forms of a small self-governing church afford opportunity for the more forceful and independent of its constituents to express themselves through organization. In the main, the superior advantages offered by the church are imported from the more successful populations of the city, and the forms of activity thought desirable are imposed upon the plastic life of childhood.

This is all in most glaring contrast to the type of social adaptation

illustrated by Case XXI that resulted wholly from the self-transformation of a local self-supporting church. Between these two extremes stands the Methodist Episcopal church, Case XXX, described in a later chapter.²¹ This church has been greatly assisted in its social adaptation by its denomination and by community funds, but is still essentially self-determining, having experienced a new birth in the discovery and mobilization of the sound elements remaining in a deteriorating community. These three churches illustrate radically diverse ways in which exceptional churches deliberately enlarge their sphere of service and transform previous traditional ministries in response to the needs of the changing city.

SOCIAL ADAPTATION THROUGH DUAL CONSTITUENCIES

A final variation in the socially adapted type is presented by the case of the historic church which by reason of unusual prestige or the loyalty to principles of an "old guard" has been able to maintain itself in a downtown location although surrounded by a new and undesirable class of population. Such churches are sometimes able to hold dual constituencies by means of a socially adapted program added to the original one. When the two constituencies are socially distinct, attending services at different hours and belonging in the main to separate organizations, the actual result is not very different from what occurs in the case of a church having a branch church or a settlement carried on in another locality. The work indeed is under one roof, is carried on through the same staff and is administratively one, yet the right hand of such a church frequently does not know what the left hand is doing. While statistically classified as socially adapted, such churches often carry on only a narrow round of work as a basic program for their older membership. If their second constituency were served through a branch organization a mile away they would unhesitatingly be classified as merely slightly adapted churches. The social separation of the two constituencies is sometimes painfully extreme and complete. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible that the atmosphere of such a church will not be affected by its enlarged social program, and frequently with the years the two constituencies tend to fuse and to develop a new and broader basis of fellowship showing real social adaptation. This issue is present in the following case.

Case XXIV—Subtype E II

Located at the very center of a manufacturing city in the East, this great historic church is in the full height of its prestige and success—a splendid example of ecclesiastical power and opulence.

Its nearly 3,000 members are scattered in a widening arc across the

²¹ See p. 266.

city toward the east and into the suburbs beyond. They are also numerous in the desirable suburbs in the northwest and south. Few live in the vicinity of the church.

One reason for the church's continued success under these circumstances—unusual as it is in so large a city—is that it could find no better place. This city has pushed out its more residential sections far from the center, but in all directions. The business center is thus about equally distant from all. Under these circumstances, in spite of numerous migrations, an unusual number of downtown churches remain.

An equally pertinent consideration is that the church is tied to the spot by the terms of the original gift of land, and gets a large income from its land rentals.

Parallel with the ample, though conventional, services and organizations of a typical family church, there goes on a varied and aggressive social ministry, which includes in its reach both the poorer populations of the central city and its business transients. This work is conducted under the same roof as the ordinary service, but with little social contact between the constituencies.

The major part of the week-day social work consists of club activities, sample programs of which follow:

MEN AND BOYS

Tuesday —4:30 to 6:15 Older Boys' Club Rooms open
 6:15 to 6:45 Supper served, 25 cents
 6:45 to 7:30 Club Meetings and Devotions
 7:30 to 10:00 Basketball Games, Bowling, Gymnasium Work

Wednesday—4:30 to 6:15 Younger Boys' Club Rooms open
 6:15 to 6:45 Supper served, 15 cents
 6:45 to 7:15 Devotional Period
 7:15 to 7:45 Club Meetings
 7:45 to 10:00 Basketball, Bowling and Gymnasium Work

WOMEN AND GIRLS

Thursday —11:30 to 1:30 Business Women's Meeting and Lunch
 5:45 Cafeteria Supper
 6:30 Singing
 7:00 Devotional Meeting
 7:15 Classes in Bible Study, Gymnasium, Cooking, China Painting, Ukelele, Current Events, Dramatics, Basketry, Christmas Gifts and Novelties, Girl Scouts, Dressmaking, Fancy Work, Millinery

Friday —5:45 to 9:00 Clubs for Girls. Cafeteria and schedule same as Thursday evening

Boys' groups divide along age lines, while the girls represent the segregation of the more highly paid women workers from the more poorly paid and more local constituencies.

A most useful additional activity is the business women's noon service and cafeteria.

Saturday morning a sewing class of over one hundred members meets.

On Sunday evening there is a men's meeting ranging in attendance from seventy-five to 300 and closing with a dinner. Very extensive fresh-air and outing ministries are conducted during the summer, both for boys and girls, the camp costing \$10,000 for the season.

There are very active ministries of old-fashioned family visitation and charity which have brought considerable numbers of foreign-speaking children into the Sunday school.

The paid staff more particularly related to the ordinary church work consists of a pastor, associate and assistant pastors, a secretary and a clerk, and also a Sunday-school secretary. Those more exclusively concerned with the social work are a girls' club secretary, a church mission-

ary and a church nurse, each receiving a salary of \$2,000, and also a directress of the cafeteria. There are also part-time physical directors.

The current operations of the church cost about \$50,000 annually, in addition to which it contributes some \$60,000 to benevolences. Its total activities reach 10,000 people per week during the busiest months of the year.

The social work of the church is insistently related to its religious work. All clubs and social meetings begin or end with devotions and those who will not attend the devotions cannot belong to the clubs. In other words, religious conformity is made the price of participation in the social benefits of the church. Its groups are not self-governing clubs. This is of course in striking contrast with the current ideals of club work as conducted by social settlements and with the policies of some churches of the same type. The club is regarded by these organizations as a spontaneous and largely self-directed expression of group life, a school of coöperation and of democracy. The policy of Case xxiv, however, is to make its clubs the occasion for the religious indoctrination of passive groups. They are encouraged to participate in a large amount of recreational activity, which, nevertheless, is always regarded as a means to the end of formal religious influence.

This is an extreme case of social adaptation involving dual constituencies. On the one hand, there is the rich and embellished but essentially unchanged life of the traditional church with somewhat reactionary tendencies; and on the other, a well-sustained group of separate activities for a poorer type of people. Numerous individuals doubtless overlap the line of demarcation, but the total situation is as described. The church's right hand does not know what its left hand does, except in terms of financial accounting.

Chapter X

WIDELY VARIANT TYPES AND THE AVERAGE

The classification of 1,044 city churches by types discovered that 88 per cent. of the total register a consistent tendency of development, while 12 per cent. depart from the main path of evolution of city churches. This 12 per cent. remainder does not constitute a homogeneous group. Eighty-eight churches, comprising 8.4 per cent. of the total, shoot off from the main path in the direction of extreme novelty of program, while thirty-seven churches, or 3.6 per cent. of the total, vary in the contrary direction of extreme conservatism.

The Adventurous Variants

The former group comprises the following subtypes:

<i>Subtypes</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>
A IV	32
A V	15
B IV	11
C III	30

These spread out all along the path of adventure with programs varying in range from medium to broadest, but with their variety always achieved at the expense of balance and usually by dropping out a considerable proportion of the more frequent elements of a city church program.

This is shown in five sample programs for widely variant subtypes in Table XLVI.

The number of cases included in most of the subtypes showing wide variations is relatively small and generally insufficient to yield very reliable statistical conclusions. Subtype A IV appears simply as a church with not more than four functions that for some reason selects one of them from a relatively infrequent range of church activity, such as the Mothers' Club or Dramatic Organization. On the whole its tendency is to consistency rather than to an erratic behavior.

Compared with Subtype A III, which also exercises four func-

TABLE XLVI—SAMPLE PROGRAMS OF WIDELY VARIANT CHURCHES

Organisations and Activities

[illegible]

tions, but which classifies merely as a normal variant within the unadapted group, A IV's specific difference consists in this choice of a less frequent fourth activity.¹

With two of the erratic subtypes, however, the case is different. The small number of churches involved enables one to see at a glance the source of common characteristics in which they vary widely from the modal tendency.

SUBTYPE B IV

This subtype consists of only eleven churches, eight of which are those of foreign-speaking people, four being churches of southern and eastern Europeans.

In age they are the youngest of all the types, more than half being less than twenty-five years old. The median age is only fourteen years. This suggests that they are churches of newer immigrants. Foreign-speaking churches of the northern European races also have a disproportionate tendency toward the erratic types, but to no such degree as have those of the southern and eastern Europeans. Perhaps this is because their constituencies have been longer in America and had a tradition nearer to that of the American churches to start with.

This subtype, dominated as it is by little foreign churches, has the smallest churches of any of the groups, only one of them having more than 300 members.

In spite of its unimpressive size, the little foreign church has generally more than one paid worker. The distribution of staffs for ten cases reported is as follows:

<i>Size of Staff</i>		<i>Number of Cases</i>
1	.....	2
2	.....	3
3	.....	2
4	.....	1
5	.....	1
7	.....	1

This striking combination of a multiple staff with small memberships is the distinctive mark of the subtype.

The pastors of these foreign churches have an average degree of education but the shortest experience of any group of ministers. Their salaries are usually from \$1,000 to \$3,000. They have relatively long tenures, possibly reflecting the fact that they are less dependent upon their congregations and more upon supporting missionary agencies than others, or that there is little competition.

¹ For sample programs of Subtype A III, see Table XXV.

Possibly, also, the foreign church has not yet acquired the American habit of frequently changing its minister.

BUDGETS AND PROPERTY

With so many multiple staffs the budget of small foreign churches is necessarily beyond that of the average of the unadapted type. Three-fourths of the budgets, however, are of less than \$10,000. The cost per capita is more than twice the average, being \$42.21. This makes the type the most costly of all. Frequently, however, membership is a very poor reflection of the size of the work. Members recruited from a foreign population, especially one originally Catholic, are almost invariably few compared with the number of

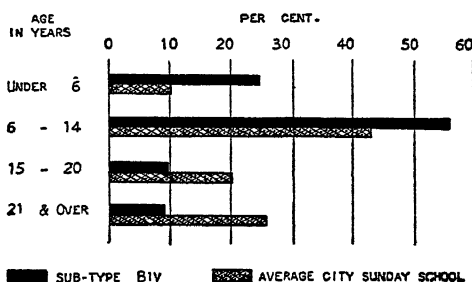


CHART XXVIII

Age Distribution of Sunday-School Pupils in Subtype B IV and in Average City Sunday School.

people served by social ministries and by religious instruction. Only one subtype has a larger ratio of Sunday-school pupils to church membership.²

Benevolence is in striking contrast with current expenses, being only about two-thirds of the average.

The average value of the church property used by this type is approximately \$48,000 (median \$30,000) against the average of about \$98,000 for all city churches studied. The auditorium seats on the average 372 people (median 275) and the varied program is reflected by the fact that the building has more than an average number of rooms. On the other hand, it has usually very little equipment.

No Sunday school of these foreign churches enrolls as many as 300, and the highest average attendance is less than 200.

² Appendix Table 32.

Case XXV—Subtype B IV

Most of these characteristics are reflected in a little Italian Baptist church in a city in New York State.

The enterprise is only twelve years old. It is located in the heart of the Italian sector which squeezes between the Lake and the main thoroughfare leading out from the business center. It has some thirty members, most of whom, however, have removed from the immediate vicinity. For so diminutive a work, measured in terms of membership, there is a staff of four workers—an Italian pastor with some seminary training but not college educated, receiving \$1,400 salary, and three lady missionaries, each receiving \$90 a month. There is a Sunday school of 144 pupils, only eight of whom are over fourteen years of age. The work is housed in a three-story frame building generally resembling the cheap tenements by which it is surrounded. It has ten rooms and is valued at \$8,000. Special features of the work are numerous children's clubs, a daily vacation Bible school, gymnasium classes, a kindergarten (operated at public expense), English classes and moving-pictures. Charitable aid is an important factor, as are medical and legal advice.

Frequently work of this type serves a variety of nationalities mingling in a polyglot quarter of the city. The North Beach Center in San Francisco, for example (since 1920 under joint Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal and Young Men's Christian Association auspices), centralizes the work for the Latin races. There are separately organized Italian-, and Spanish-speaking churches besides clubs for Filipinos.

ACTIVITIES

Most of the exceptional features of these little churches directly reflect the particular problems and vicissitudes of their constituencies in a strange country. They are identical with some of the things that churches of new rural immigrants or Negroes newly come to the North have felt driven to undertake. Among them are employment agencies, dormitories, kindergartens, day nurseries and clinics. In other words, in order to meet some of the crying needs of its group, and in spite of its numerical weakness, the little church (usually, of course, with mission board help) gallantly undertakes one or two items of a service program carried out in a completer and more balanced way by socially adapted churches.

Daily vacation Bible schools and the use of moving-pictures are also characteristic of the type.

The churches of Subtype B IV are distributed among the denominations as shown on the following page.

This showing undoubtedly reflects to some degree the development of foreign-speaking work in the several denominations, but it must not be assumed to reflect accurately the relative importance of that work.

WIDELY VARIANT TYPES AND THE AVERAGE 197

Most of these churches have compact parishes. This was to be expected since a primary characteristic of the type is that they are related to some particular foreign colony.

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>
Baptist	2
Congregational	1
Disciples	1
Methodist Episcopal	2
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	2
Protestant Episcopal	3

OTHER REASONS FOR UNUSUAL PROGRAMS

While the particular needs of racial and nationality groups are the most general factors entering into the development of the extremely one-sided program shown by Subtype B IV, they are not the only ones. Extreme poverty in American populations may require similar special treatment. Abnormal conditions in a church's founding may cause malformation from the beginning, or a decaying church may limp into an exceptionally erratic position through the uneven loss of its functions.

Case XXVI—Subtype A IV

This case strikingly illustrates the "uses of adversity." It is that of an historic and once wealthy church which has dwindled to a mere shadow of its former self. Its present one-sided program has been arrived at through the loss of one after another of its former functions as a result of the changed character of the neighborhood. The church is a victim of the expanding business section of the city, which has meant the deterioration of its environment as a place of homes.

Possessing one of the most beautiful church plants of the city from the architectural standpoint, and still retaining a nominal membership of about 400, with a budget of some \$20,000, its Sunday school is practically zero and its total program consists of a poorly attended preaching service, a remnant of women's organizations and an interesting exceptional group of ministries for transient constituents, chiefly students. For them it maintains an open church, a special student pastorate, a Sunday afternoon social hour and forum, as well as varied social attractions.

In this work it is sustained by the loyalty of an "old guard" of well-to-do people who also contribute generously to denominational missions. The staff consists of a pastor, an assistant pastor specializing in student work, and a secretary.

Thus, in the face of radical change of circumstances and relative institutional failure, the church has found a distinctive ministry of contemporary importance. It is not a mere decrepit survivor of a former generation, but is striving to serve in a unique and original way—one, however, which does not quite fall in naturally with the tradition of the church. One questions whether this particular service might not be done as well or better by other institutions with the same money and staff.

An old family church (the second oldest of its denomination in a Pacific Coast city) somewhat similarly maintains an active week-

day program, although its religious work has reached a very low ebb. Representatives of the central Young Men's Christian Association conduct a boys' club and the city playgrounds commission makes it a center of recreational work. In addition to this, the public library has made it a branch, sending a librarian one day per week. The balance of the resulting program is extremely unusual for an institution calling itself a church.

More cases of such special adaptations would undoubtedly be encountered now and then in a wider survey. So far as the sample goes, however, this group of erratic types is most closely identified with Protestant effort for foreign-speaking people.

SUBTYPE C III

The exceptional position of this subtype has already been discussed.³ It belongs statistically with the internally adapted churches, but a comparison of the five sample programs of churches of this subtype with five similar programs of the internally adapted type⁴ shows conclusively why it cannot practically be so regarded. It not only spreads over a wider range of activities—thus creating an unbalanced program from the standpoint of usual evolution—but the basic ecclesiastical character of the enterprise is more and more attenuated. Thus, while it has a program like that of the socially adapted churches with respect to many of its activities, it is unlike these churches in that it sacrifices (or has never developed) a large proportion of habitual church functions in order to carry on unusual social ministries.

Case XXVII—Subtype C III

This example chosen from a Californian city deliberately calls itself a "Christian Center" for Mexicans. It is located on First Avenue in the heart of the Mexican district and consists of three branches of work: namely, a Mexican church, a theological seminary for the training of Mexican native ministers, and social-center work. The theological seminary is a new venture, but the social center has been largely developed in connection with a new building occupied a year and a half ago. The social-center work largely takes the place of the conventional activities of an American parish, except as to the Sunday services and Sunday school. There are adult classes in English for men and women (rather poorly attended); a woman's society; cultural and recreational clubs for young men and for young women; manual training classes and clubs for younger boys and girls, and a daily kindergarten, besides Saturday classes for religious and manual instruction and a daily vacation Bible school. A second building will furnish excellent facilities for a clinic. It provides living apartments for the social workers on the second floor. The staff, other than that of the theological seminary, consists of a Mexican pastor and two lady community workers. The plant is modern and excellent in con-

³ See p. 72.

⁴ See pp. 143 and 198.

struction and design. Besides the two recent buildings, the old chapel stands in the rear of the lot and has been made over into a boys' manual training shop.

The institution is doing a localized neighborhood social work, characterized by many community gatherings and an attempt to establish social relations on a Christian basis. The workers in charge of community service appear to be well qualified and interested, and the head of the theological work is a man of strong personality and constructive spirit.

The Center is an unusually interesting and well-supported example of a many-sided mission to a single foreign nationality, with a local social program supplementing religious work. A Japanese group meets in the building for religious services only, but this is incidental.

Except for its theological adjunct, such a church is really first cousin to the social center or settlement that has never claimed to be a church at all.⁵

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

While the most characteristic size for churches of Subtype C III is less than one hundred members, five out of the twenty-two have more than 500 members and two more than 1,000 members. Their median age is about the median for all churches studied, but the proportion of churches now occupying their original locations is only one-half that of the city churches in general, showing that the churches of this subtype have been subject to exceptional vicissitudes. In a word, they are somewhat larger enterprises than the average church of the other erratic types and, whatever their present variations, are generally built upon older American foundations.

Multiple staffs are characteristic of this subtype, the distribution being as follows:

<i>Size of Staff</i>	<i>No. of Cases</i>
1	8
2	10
3	5
4	1
5	1
8	2

Of thirteen male assistants employed, four are called assistant pastors, three directors of religious education, while the balance are gymnasium directors and social workers of various sorts. Of the twenty-two women workers six are called directors of social service, while eleven are deaconesses and visitors, two secretaries and two matrons.

The experience of the pastors of these churches is shorter even than of those in the smaller foreign churches. Their pastorates

⁵ Compare sample programs of socially adapted churches and Christian centers and settlements, p. 172.

are, however, longer than the average, which perhaps shows (as already suggested in the case of foreign-speaking churches) the results of mission-board support and of freedom from dependence on the immediate congregation. Most of the salaries are under \$2,000, but more of them run between \$2,000 and \$3,000 than in the previous subtype.

BUDGETS AND PROPERTY

The rather low average standards of the work and probably the frequent poverty and dependence of the people served are shown by the fact that the average per capita cost of these churches is only \$14.60, which is well below the average. Their benevolence is only one-third of the average.

The average value of church property used by this subtype is \$59,089. Its varied program requires a more than average number of rooms and its auditorium seats 410 on the average. In contrast with the straight-out foreign churches it has a more than average range of equipment.

The Sunday school tends to be larger than in the purely foreign church.

The church office is habitually open daily and the use of moving-pictures and a daily vacation Bible school is very frequent.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DENOMINATIONAL AFFINITIES

This relatively small subtype has been found to be characteristic of certain cities that have not developed outstanding churches of the socially adapted type. Thus, eight churches in St. Louis fall within this class, all of which are recognized by the Community Council as functioning community centers. It is thus a sort of alternative of social adaptation on a large scale. It moves in the direction of specialization, but sacrifices a large proportion of traditional activities while still maintaining the church form and using some of its habitual methods.

The denominational distribution of churches of Subtype C III is as shown on the opposite page.

This sample is perhaps large enough to reflect somewhat the development of this type of work in the several denominations. It must not be assumed, however, to throw exact light on relative frequency of the Christian center or community house.⁶ It simply

⁶ The church center does not account for all the individual cases falling within this statistical subtype. A decadent church, for example, that had few original activities and had lost some of them, in making tentative efforts to readjust itself to the community, might hit upon a similar one-sided and limited program. Good illustrations of such situations have been found in the South and elsewhere.

shows how the subtype on the whole is distributed denominationally.

While, in contrast with Subtype B IV, Subtype C III is not dominated by foreign-speaking churches, yet one-sixth of its cases are foreign. A considerably larger number deal incidentally with foreigners, but commonly in communities of mixed nationality and many tongues. Although the generalization is not statistically based, it is undoubtedly safe to say that polyglot communities are more

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>
Baptist	7
Congregational	3
Methodist Episcopal	5
Methodist Episcopal, South	3
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	6
Protestant Episcopal	3
Lutheran	1
All other	2

easily united in social ministries than in worship. This probably accounts for the minimizing of traditional features of church work so characteristic of this subtype.

Examples may also occur where rural immigrants, living on low social levels, are served by a church not of their traditional denomination. In such cases again traditional ecclesiastical factors may be toned down while social ministries are emphasized.

THE GENERAL TENDENCY

The study of the widely variant types that take the line of novel activity thus results in their practical identification in two cases with two popularly recognized variations of the city church, namely, (1) the foreign-speaking church, and (2) the Christian center or community house often associated with polyglot communities. The above description of the statistical subtypes concerned is not assumed to be as full or as ample an account of either kind of enterprise as could have been reached if they had been directly studied in an equal number of cases. But the relations of Christian institutions of this type to the entire body of churches and to the general trend of church evolution will, it is believed, have been made clearer by the method of approach used.⁷

⁷ The present study of types of churches necessarily omits the more unique and original efforts that depart farthest from the pattern even of the exceptional subtypes, because it attempts throughout to find the typical rather than the highly colored and spectacular. Such enterprises, for example, as the Plaza Community Center, dealing particularly with the newer and lower classes of Mexicans in Los Angeles (including single men living in boarding- and lodging-houses) and with transient families, are exceptional examples even of work for foreign-speaking people. Again, the Good Will Industries, supported by the Methodist Episcopal denomination in the slums of many cities, is too far from any standard type of work to find place among the descriptions of typical cases. It is a real hardship to bar such genuinely appealing and sometimes thrilling examples from the selection.

The Conservative Variants

The subtypes that exaggerate the conservative tendency are Subtype D I, with twenty-seven churches, and Subtype E I, with ten churches. The former is an extreme variant of the slightly adapted church and the latter of the internally adapted church, both varying too widely to be included statistically in the types to which they naturally belong. They do not accordingly require special comment except to note again the surprising fact that the sample does not show more of them. They have and do nearly everything that churches at their stages of development can have and do, but their fortunes are so exceptional that they have little company.

Case XXVIII—Subtype E I

Such a super-elaborated church (not the most extreme case) is found in a prosperous Chicago suburb which for many years has attracted the choicest elements of a metropolitan denominational constituency. It has some 1,600 members, and a Sunday school less than one-half as large. It pays its pastor a salary of \$7,200, while its director of religious education gets only \$1,800. A church secretary completes the staff. Its building, worth \$320,000, has forty rooms and seats 1,400 people in the auditorium. Its annual operating budget is \$40,000, and the church is accustomed to contribute \$63,000, or more, annually for benevolences.

The church's program includes almost everything one can think of for active all-around service to prosperous people; to which it adds a strong civic influence. Its pastor has been many years in this position. He has a highly original style, is a clever advertiser and a notable administrator.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE AND MINOR CHARACTERISTICS

The general characteristics of this subtype may be confirmed in detail by an examination of Appendix Table 35,⁸ which shows the relative frequency of a small group of newer church activities by church types. In this table, the churches that show extreme variance in the direction of conservatism from the general trend of ecclesiastical development as judged by the general frequency scale, nevertheless definitely reveal a strong tendency to go in for all of what one may call the "recognized novelties." In other words, they go in for the up-to-date features that round out the characteristics of the internally adapted church but do not go beyond them. In the frequency of these activities such churches rank just beyond the internally adapted, as their statistical position would lead one to expect.

It is of further interest that, in the exceedingly brief list of these churches, one may note two whose pastors have recently held the titular leadership of their respective denominations. They are, in

⁸ See also Table LIII.

short, quite the sort of churches of which moderators of a General Assembly or Synod might be expected to have charge.

Additional comment on their stand-pat characteristics is found in the fact that they have moved their locations less frequently than any other type.

Since the group of churches classified as widely variant is not homogeneous, no common or consistent explanation for them is to be expected. In the case of the more significant subtypes, the specific causes of their departures from the average have been suggested. They are the results of extraordinary pressure or else of extraordinary lack of pressure, coupled with institutional easy circumstances.

The affinities of the former group for the various "non-churches" that parallel or go beyond the most extreme church type were sensed even at the outset of the investigation, as illustrated by Pittsburgh and Chicago. Writing of the latter city, Professor W. L. Bailey says: "A noticeable number in Chicago have developed unique churches in which the traditional functions are distinctly secondary; some have gone over into institutions that are no longer regular churches: several notable cases occur where they have definitely espoused the Settlement idea, or created a Christian neighborhood house of the same essential type: a number have dropped the name 'Church' and substituted 'Institute' or other such title. But many have practiced a difference of emphasis in the carrying on of activities which amounts to an eccentricity of a certain degree, and is scarcely less significant, being the more widespread."

It will be shown in a later connection that extreme variations are more frequent among the churches of the larger cities. Although relatively few anywhere, their prophetic significance may be very great, especially if the dominant hypothesis of the entire study is right, namely, that the urban church is in a process of adaptation. These more extreme, exceptional, original and adventurous churches may thus well be the vanguard of a procession which will be considerably enlarged in the future.

A General Study of the City Churches

The announced objective of the present study was to break up the total body of city churches into significant types.

This precluded emphasis upon any interpretation of the results of the study of the group as a whole by means of the average. Such a study is, however, recognized as one of the minor values of the book. To insert it into the discussion of the several types would, however, have interrupted the progress of their interpretation. It appears here, therefore, as a sort of appendix to their description

and furnishes a generalization which may have value for those who are not particularly interested in their separate determination.

Before proceeding with this composite picture of all city churches, it will be helpful to recall exactly how it comes to exist. Somebody had gone to see and to study each of the 1,044 churches. Identical information concerning them on sixty-eight items had been recorded on sets of schedule cards. To this were added supplementary data and statements of personal impressions.

What the first-hand observer had done was in effect this: he had provided for the imagination of the interpreter not a collection of dull statistical records, but rather little working models of 1,044 individual churches, each a diminutive Noah's Ark with a steeple—1,044 localized units of organized urban Christianity, each drawn to scale. Inside each imaginary model might be seen all the people with all their organizations and activities. Everything was accurately constructed so that not only the church as a whole but the various elements that make it up might be compared statistically for the 1,044 cases. Thirty-one such highly individual samples have been described in the text of this volume. Would anything be gained by the attempt to make a composite picture of so varied a group as they suggest?

THE STATISTICAL COMPOSITE

The statistical processes employed in determining the types made such a generalization possible. Returns from the schedules had been tabulated and totaled under their respective items for all comparable data. The results were then arranged in quantitative sequences from smaller to greater and the range noted. The series was thus broken up into convenient statistical intervals and the proportions of churches falling within the groups defined by these intervals were noted. This made it possible to discover the central tendency of the series as evidenced by frequency; or the median case was separately calculated.

Such a process, utilized in the successive studies of the types, is equally applicable to the entire 1,044 churches. Thus in the matter of membership (on which only 952 churches reported) the distribution shown in Table XLVII was found.

Judged by this sample, more than one-half of all city churches have fewer than 500 members, while one-fifth have more than 1,000 members; but the most frequent single size-group is one with from one to two hundred members.

A similar process was carried out with respect to each of the items covered by the schedules, and the more obviously important

ratios calculated, such as that between church membership and Sunday-school enrollment and between Sunday-school enrollment and average attendance.

GENERALIZED PICTURE OF THE CITY CHURCH

The results of these elementary processes appear in the totals of Appendix Tables 5-58. Together they yield a picture of "the city church" much more complete than that commonly available, and startlingly at variance with it at certain points. "The city

TABLE XLVII — MEMBERSHIP OF 952 CITY CHURCHES

<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>Distribution of Churches</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Under 100	111	11.7
Under 50	37	3.9
100 to 200	143	15.0
200 to 300	114	12.0
300 to 400	93	9.8
400 to 500	67	7.0
<hr/>		
Under 500	528	55.5
500 to 1,000	226	23.7
1,000 and over	198	20.8
<hr/>		
Total	952	100.0

church" is characteristically a small organization, most often of from one to two hundred members. Somewhat fewer than one-third of the churches are less than twenty-five years old, and considerably more than one-third are over fifty years old. Nearly one-half have been in their present locations less than twenty-five years, and 71 per cent. have moved at least once since organization. Nearly one-half have more than one paid worker, and in the combined total of the paid staff there are more assistant workers than there are pastors. Women constitute about one-third of the total of paid workers. Male assistants fall into seven fairly distinct types. Just one-half are assistant pastors and other half workers in specialized lines. Women religious workers employed by city churches fall into nine types. About half are clerical or general assistants and the other half engaged in specialized services. The most representative city pastor is a college and theological seminary graduate who has been from twenty to thirty years in the ministry, though 28 per cent. have served less than ten years. Only 15 per cent., however, have served over thirty years. By far the larger number—over 40 per cent.—have been in their present fields from two to three years, and only 16 per cent. have stayed as long as ten years.

The most frequent salary, enjoyed by slightly over one-third of city pastors, is from \$1,000 to \$2,000 (exclusive of parsonage), though nearly one-sixth get over \$5,000.

FINANCES AND PROPERTY

As represented by the sample, 43 per cent. of city churches have current expenses of less than \$5,000 annually, the most frequent sum being between \$2,000 and \$3,000. Twelve per cent., however, spend annually more than \$25,000. The average expenditure per member is \$18.17. Nearly two-thirds of these churches give more than \$1,000 a year to benevolences, yet the most frequent amount is between \$100 and \$200. The average benevolent gift per member is \$11.52. On a sample of 507 cases reporting, the average value of the Protestant church building in large American cities is \$97,645, but there are as many churches worth less than \$35,000 as there are worth more. The average seating capacity of the auditorium is 591, but the median only 450. The representative city church, comprising more than two-fifths of the total, has fewer than ten rooms, but 36 per cent. have between ten and twenty rooms and 8 per cent. have more than thirty. Out of the list of equipment facilities enumerated in the schedules, from five to nine is the number most frequently found.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

While approximately half of the churches have fewer than 500 members, three-fourths of the Sunday schools have fewer than 500 enrolled pupils, and 87 per cent. of the Sunday schools fewer than 500 in average attendance. From one to two hundred is the most frequent number both for enrollment and for attendance. Attendance averages 61 per cent. of enrollment. The pupils are distributed by ages as follows:

<i>Ages</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Under 5	10
6-14	43
15-20	20
21 and over	27

Thirty per cent. of the schools have cradle rolls and 17 per cent. home departments. About one-fifth of the city churches are open daily for devotions and about two-fifths have an office open daily for business. One-third have organized athletics; 18 per cent. have Sunday evening socials or teas, and 17 per cent. use motion-pictures; about one-fifth maintain daily vacation Bible schools; 14 per cent.

have some form of week-day religious education, while 13 per cent. have children's congregations or children's sermons. About 8 per cent. have forums, and 2 per cent. maintain homes, dormitories or other forms of housing facilities.

PARISHES AND CONSTITUENTS

In 222 cases reported 45 per cent. of the churches had more than three-quarters of their membership living within one mile of the church building, but 23 per cent. had less than one-half of their membership within the same radius. Nearly one-third reported unbalanced distribution of members as to the direction of their homes from the church, and an additional third very unbalanced distribution. In other words, the church building is not usually anywhere near the geographical center of its constituency.

In 1916 there was one Protestant church to every 1,731 of the native-born population of large cities. Their total membership equaled nearly one-fifth of the total native-born population, men comprising 38 per cent. of the membership. Protestant churches constituted three-fourths of all church organizations. There was an average of twenty-four Protestant denominations per city, the irregular and not fully recognized denominations constituting 7.5 per cent. of the total. Twelve per cent. of all city churches owned no property but worshiped in rented halls.

These generalized results cover a much wider range of statistical information than previously existed for the city church. They do not, however, discover types of churches nor do they yield any explanatory hypothesis; and consequently, whatever their values, they figure merely as a by-product of the larger study.

Chapter XI

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT ACCOMPANYING DEVELOPING PROGRAMS

In the five preceding chapters the several major types of churches have been systematically described and explained in accordance with the general hypothesis that they express successive stages of adaptation to the city.

The present chapter considers the general development of the city church under topics derived directly from the basic and supplemental schedules used in the field investigation. Under these as headings it compares the major types and, where significant variations appear, the subtypes. This comparison constitutes a virtual restatement and summary of the concrete data of the study in the aspects that are internal to the organization and activities of the local church. It is followed by chapters which carry the comparison into the field of external relationships.

The outstanding result of the comparison, as one would naturally expect, is that when a city church enlarges its service program it also enlarges nearly every aspect of its life and work. But just how many factors would show enlargement corresponding to the increased scope of program and to what degree in each case could only be discovered by actual statistical enumeration and measurement. The result of such processes applied to the items of the schedules for 1,044 sample churches appears in the following paragraphs.

Naturally not every factor of church life responds to the stimulus of an increased service program in the same way. Accordingly the consideration of those factors that run parallel with the development of service program will be followed by a section devoted to those that run counter to it or are not affected at all.

Changes Accompanying Enlarged Programs

SIZE

Size is directly correlated with complexity of program and registers an increase corresponding with the enlargement of program in every stage of development as measured either in the types or in the subtypes.

The unadapted churches with their narrow programs are relatively small, more than four-fifths having fewer than 500 members, one-fourth fewer than one hundred, and nearly one-twelfth fewer than fifty members.¹

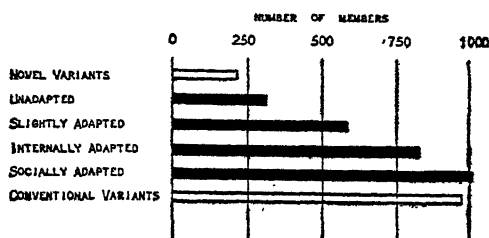


CHART XXIX

Average Size of Church, by Types.

The slightly adapted churches whose programs are a little ampler and more varied than those of the unadapted type are also relatively small, 57 per cent. having fewer than 500 members.

The internally adapted churches divide as follows as to size: under 500 members, 27 per cent.; 500 to 1,000 members, 39 per cent.; over 1,000 members, 34 per cent. This type has only one-half

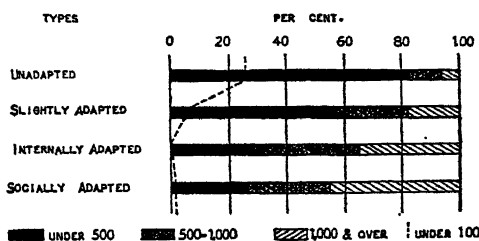


CHART XXX

Per Cent. Distribution of Size of Membership in Four Major Types of Churches.

as many churches of fewer than 500 members as the moderately developed type has.

The socially adapted churches tend to be large but are not always so. More than 25 per cent. of them have fewer than 500 members, while, on the other hand, 46 per cent. have more than 1,000 members.

¹ Appendix Table 5.

It is only the extremely undeveloped church that is never large. Churches with limited programs are sometimes large in membership.

The general trend of increase is measured by the fact that the median size of the unadapted church is 187 members, of the slightly adapted 408 members, of the internally adapted 796 members, and of the socially adapted 921 members.

There is, however, an important difference at the two ends of the

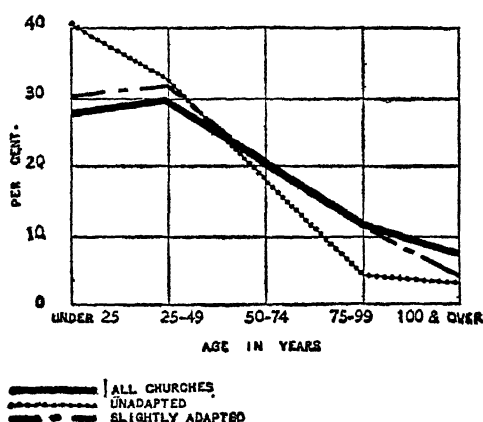


CHART XXXI

Age Distribution of Churches, by Types.

scale in the degree to which size correlates with complexity of program. The highly developed churches are by no means as uniformly large as the undeveloped are small. In fact so many of the former are not large that to classify them by size alone would give a false view of their likeness and unlikeness to one another.

AGE OF CHURCHES

The 820 churches reporting on this item were divided as shown in Table XLVIII.²

TABLE XLVIII—NUMBER AND AGE OF 820 CITY CHURCHES

Age	Distribution of Churches	
	Number	Per Cent.
Under 25	231	28.2
25-49	252	30.7
50-74	171	20.9
75-99	101	12.3
100 and over	65	7.9

² Appendix Table 6.

Of the total number of churches reporting as to age, 3.4 per cent. are less than five years old and 8.8 per cent. are less than ten years old. The average age of all churches approximates forty years.

The more highly developed churches are on the whole older than the less developed ones. Thus the unadapted type has a much larger per cent. of churches less than twenty-five years old and considerably fewer more than seventy-five years.

The slightly adapted churches approximate the general average, as is their characteristic.

The internally adapted type is strikingly below the average in

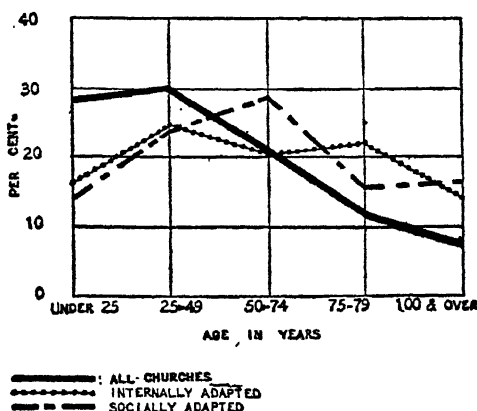


CHART XXXIa

Age Distribution of Churches, by Types.

the proportion of young churches and above it in the proportion of old ones. This type has the largest number of very old churches, while the socially adapted type has more middle-aged ones.

Within each general type the less developed subtype has more of the younger churches than the more developed have.

The age of the church, then, is reflected in its type as defined by complexity of service program. The less developed churches tend to be the younger, and the more developed the older.³

YEARS IN PRESENT LOCATION

While the median age of the churches studied is forty-two years, the median length of time which they have occupied their present

³ The age of churches of course depends somewhat upon the age of the city in which they are located, but also upon the rate of its recent growth. Thus, Springfield, Mass., an old city, grew more in the last twenty years than in the previous two hundred. Accordingly, just about one-half of its churches are less than twenty-five years of age.

sites is only twenty-five years. This means that many of them have moved at some time during their histories.

As among churches of the major types, the length of occupancy of their present sites corresponds directly to the degree of development of their service program. The unadapted churches have been the shortest time in their present locations, and the socially adapted the longest. This was to be expected in view of the relative ages

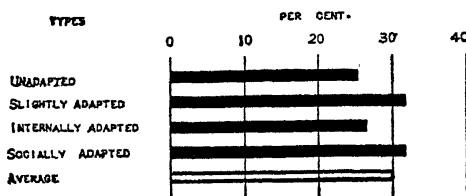


CHART XXXII

Per Cent. of Churches in Each Type Which Have Never Changed Location.

of the churches of the several types unless some had moved very much oftener than others.⁴ Thus the degree of permanence of the church in its present location stands as an additional factor relating to the general process of coherent evolution.⁵

SIZE OF STAFF

Of the 988 churches reporting on this item, 47 per cent. have more than one paid worker. Almost three-quarters, however, have

TABLE XLIX—NUMBER OF CHURCHES EMPLOYING STAFFS OF SPECIFIED SIZE AND NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED

<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Size of Staff</i>	<i>Workers Employed</i>
523	1	523
185	2	370
131	3	393
76	4	304
37	5	185
16	6	96
4	7	28
12	8	96
1	9	9
3	10 and over	38
<hr/> 988		<hr/> 2,042

⁴ Considerable difference on this point was found, but not enough to affect the general tendency as stated.

⁵ Appendix Table 7.

not more than two. This indicates the present tendency of the city church toward a multiple staff.⁶

The distribution of staffs according to the number of religious workers employed is shown in Table XLIX.

The unadapted churches rarely have more than one paid worker.

Sixty per cent. of the slightly adapted churches have a pastor only, and 80 per cent. have not more than two workers.

The internally adapted type has about the same number of staffs of one, two and three workers respectively, a staff of three workers being slightly the most characteristic. This combination typically provides a pastor, a male assistant functioning often as a special

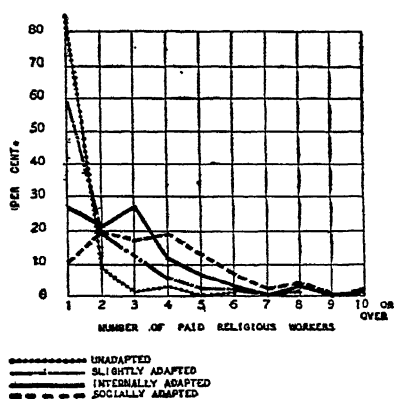


CHART XXXIII

Per Cent. Distribution of Size of Staffs of Four Major Types.

director of religious education and a woman worker, generally combining clerical and pastoral work.⁷

Staffs of two or more workers are strongly characteristic of the socially adapted churches. This is the obvious corollary of their more specialized program. Recreational, educational and health experts constitute the most usual additions to such staffs.

There is an absolutely consistent increase in staff from subtype to subtype after the very earliest stages of development have been reached. Each and every appreciable addition to program is accompanied by additions to the size of staff. This correlation is more absolute than on any other item, as obviously it should be if the program to be carried out determines the employed personnel of a

⁶ Appendix Table 9.

⁷ Explanation of how an elaborated program can be carried out by a one-man staff is suggested on p. 168.

church organization. Size of staff is thus directly proportionate to the scope and complexity of the service program. The more complex it is the larger the staff and the more varied the specialized functions of its members.

The total body of workers represented by reports on this point from 988 churches is 2,042, an average of somewhat more than two per church. If it is assumed that each church has a pastor, 1,054 other workers are left, of whom 653 are women and 401 men.⁸ In other words, the combined staff in the modern city churches already includes more persons belonging to other types of paid religious work than it does pastors. Women constitute just about one-third of the total body of workers.

VARIETY OF MALE ASSISTANTS

The particular office held by the male assistants was specified in 372 cases with the results given in Table L.⁹

TABLE L—OFFICES HELD BY MALE ASSISTANTS

<i>Office</i>	<i>Distribution of Assistants</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Assistant or Associate Pastor	186	50.0
Director of Religious Education	71	19.1
Superintendent of Athletics or Recreation*	34	9.1
Director Men's, Boys' or Young People's Work	30	8.1
Secretary	18	4.8
Financial or Executive Secretary or Treasurer	14	3.8
Director Social Service or Social Worker	12	3.2
Pastor Emeritus, etc.	7	1.9

* Includes Scout Masters, Superintendents of Camps and Outing Farms, etc.

It is recognized that less difference exists in actual function than the difference in names suggests; yet the following general tendencies are apparently indicated: The more highly developed types of churches employ proportionately the larger number of specialists such as directors of men's, boys' or young people's work, social service supervisors, gymnasium directors and scoutmasters; while the less developed types maintain more of the conventional offices represented by assistant pastors and directors of religious education.

Male assistants of any sort are so rare in the unadapted type as to be statistically negligible, but it is a striking discovery that this type has more male "financial" and "executive" secretaries than any other. This directly indicates the presence of large but institutionally undeveloped churches whose pastors give themselves pri-

⁸ The sex of the workers was not always reported in connection with the staff. The proportion of women and men is therefore assumed to be the same as in the sample reporting as to sex under "functional distribution of staff." See Appendix Tables 10 and 11.

⁹ Appendix Table 10.

marily to pulpit ministries while male executives are employed for business management—a condition that pertains in no other type.¹⁰ An analogous position would be that of manager to the musical or dramatic star.

VARIETY OF WOMEN ASSISTANTS

The offices held by women assistants were named in 608 cases with the results given in Table LI.¹¹

TABLE LI—OFFICES HELD BY FEMALE ASSISTANTS

<i>Office</i>	<i>Distribution of Assistants</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Secretary	265	43.6
(Deaconess or Visitor combined)	137	22.5
Director Social Service or Social Worker	70	11.5
Visitor	69	11.3
Deaconess	68	11.2
Pastor's Assistant	41	6.7
Director Women's, Girls' or Young People's Work..	38	6.2
Matron, etc.	29	4.8
Director Religious Education	21	3.5
Financial Secretary	7	1.2

In the matter of frequency secretaries greatly exceed all other types of women church workers. The functions of deaconesses and visitors are so nearly, if not wholly, identical that they are reported together in the second item of the list as well as separately. This type of service is next to the most frequent.

As among the types, the following tendencies prevail: The more highly developed naturally employ the larger number of specialized workers, such as social service directors, directors of women's and girls' work, whereas the older types of women's service represented by deaconess or visitor are more frequent with the less developed churches. Clerical work, however, is the most characteristic form of women's service with all types.

PASTOR'S EXPERIENCE

Most young ministers serve their apprenticeships in the country or else as a pastor's assistant in the city. Pastorates of city churches are generally not open to the young. On the other hand, the city church properly requires and gets the maturest powers of a minister before the inevitable letting down of age.

Twenty to twenty-nine years is the most characteristic term of experience for city pastors, 31 per cent. having been in the ministry

¹⁰ See p. 128.

¹¹ Appendix Table 11.

for this period of time. Fifteen and four-tenths per cent. have had more than thirty years' experience and very few go beyond forty

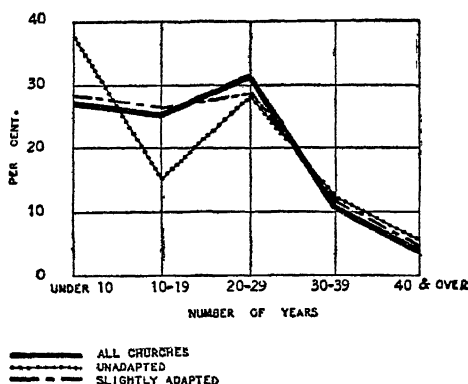


CHART XXXIV

Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors with Specified Number of Years' Experience, by Types.

years. On the other hand, only 12.5 per cent. have had less than five years' experience.

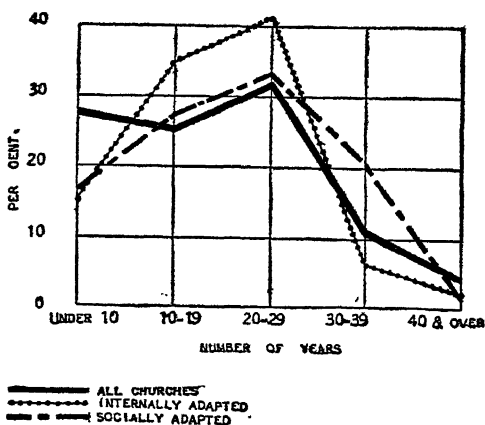


CHART XXXIVa

Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors with Specified Number of Years' Experience, by Types.

Each added stage of the development of the church program in complexity requires additional experience on the part of the minister.

The unadapted church has twice as many pastors of less than five years' experience as the average. On the other hand, it also has more men of more than forty years than any other. Naturally its financial weakness compels it to take more of the very young and of the very old.

The slightly adapted type is characteristically close to the average in the experience of its ministers.

The internally adapted type has a very strong tendency toward middle-aged pastors. It selects in the main men of proved success, but discriminates definitely against old men. The qualities that it demands perhaps diminish with approaching age.

The socially adapted type, with the most complex and varied program of all, uses more old men than any other. Executive capacity, maturity of judgment and sympathetic experience, which are the primal qualifications in such pastorates, perhaps last longer than the brilliant qualities of leadership demanded by polite congregations.¹²

Over 15 per cent. of the pastors of the entire number of churches studied were found to have had more than thirty years' experience in the ministry. If they entered the ministry at the usual age, these pastors were fifty-eight years old or more.

But, according to actuarial tables for the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations, out of every one hundred men who enter the ministry only a few more than seventy will remain available for service beyond thirty years—death and disability accounting for the remainder. In other words, while the employed pastors with this length of experience constitute only about 15 per cent. of the total number of pastors, they include more than 30 per cent. of the available pastors of the age-group in question. This does not show such a degree of discrimination in the pastorate against elderly men as is usually assumed. Besides this, assistant's positions are available to a higher proportion of elderly men than are sought for the pastorate.

If both ends of the minister's career be taken into consideration, a fair summary of the data is that the young minister has less chance at a city church than an old one. Apprenticeship is generally found in the country, but the city utilizes the experienced man in considerable numbers beyond the age of greatest physical vigor.

PASTOR'S TENURE

The length of the pastor's service in his present place was reported by 628 churches.

¹² Appendix Table 12.

From two to four years' tenure is strongly characteristic for the entire body of city churches examined, 40 per cent. of the cases falling in this period. Eighty-four per cent. of all ministers were found to have been in their present place less than ten years, and about 25 per cent. less than two years.

The unadapted type has the largest per cent. of short-stay men; the slightly adapted is closest to the average, while ministers of the internally adapted and socially adapted types tend to stay much longer.

A direct relation is thus established between the type of church and the tenure of the pastor. The higher the development, the longer the stay; though the difference between the types is not marked. Something in the better organization, the better remuneration and the more adequate assistance makes this difference in favor of the more highly developed churches. One confesses, however, that the impression made by this slight difference is almost lost in the contemplation of the brief tenure for all and the terrific turn-

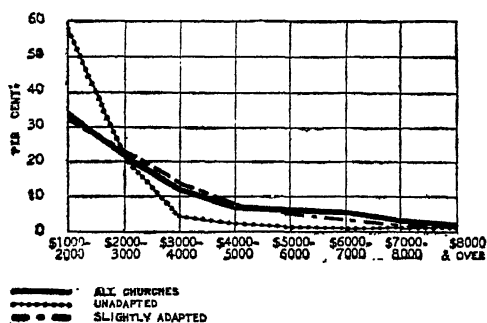


CHART XXXV

Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors Receiving Specified Salaries, by Types.

over. Whether starved out, worn out or thrown out, most ministers go after a very limited period of service in a given place.¹³ One may fairly ask what chance there is under these circumstances for continuity and constructive leadership.

SALARY

Cash salaries of from \$1,000 to \$2,000 are strongly modal for the 774 churches reporting on this item, one-third of all falling within these limits. Sixty-two per cent. of all city ministers reporting have less than \$3,000 salary, while 5 per cent. have less than

¹³ Appendix Table 14.

\$1,000. On the other hand, almost 18 per cent. have more than \$5,000.¹⁴

The pastor of the unadapted church is very likely to get less than \$2,000 salary and has scarcely any chance of getting more than \$3,000.

Similarly, the pastor of the slightly adapted church is more likely than not to get less than \$2,000 salary.

The pastor of the internally adapted church, on the other hand, is almost certain to get more than \$2,000, salaries of from \$2,000 to \$3,000 and from \$3,000 to \$4,000 being equally characteristic. Thirty-five per cent. of the pastors of this type receive more than \$5,000.

From \$3,000 to \$4,000 salaries are strongly characteristic of the

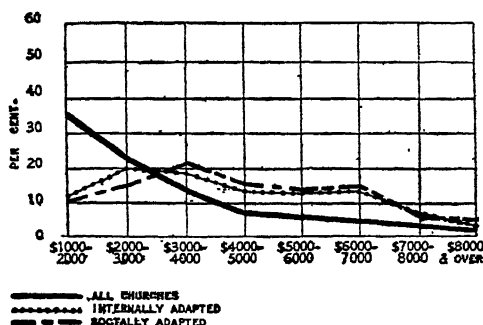


CHART XXXVa

Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors Receiving Specified Salaries, by Types.

socially adapted churches and a larger proportion of the pastors of these churches get more than \$5,000 than do those of any other type. The socially adapted type also have the largest number of very high salaries, three cases going above \$8,000.

There is thus a definite increase of salary with each increase of complexity of program as expressed by church types.¹⁵

Part of the higher pay in the more complex types is for the administration of a more varied organization. Doubtless the ministers of these churches have a higher general grade of ability for things that all ministers have to do, but job analysis would also show them doing additional and different things corresponding with the general increase in the rate of pay. The pastor of the more highly

¹⁴ Parsonages in addition to salary were reported inadequately and appear to be about equally distributed among the types. They are ignored in the figures because of the striking differences in rental value in various parts of the country, in various cities, and in various parts of the same cities.

¹⁵ Appendix Table 15.

organized church, in other words, has a greater range of administrative functions.

The characteristic salary of the city minister is extremely low; and when the difference in cost of living is considered, appears to be no better than that paid by many town churches. The range of salary is also narrow compared with that in other professions. The highest paid city doctor or lawyer receives a much larger emolument than the most highly paid minister.

SALARIES OF MALE ASSISTANT WORKERS

On the basis of 181 cases reporting, the male assistant worker receives on the average just about one-half of the salary of the pastor in churches that employ both, and the range in salary for male assistants is just about one-half as great as that of the pastor.

The per cent. distribution of pastors' and male assistants' salaries by amount received is as follows:

	<i>Under \$1,000</i>	<i>\$1,000 to \$2,000</i>	<i>\$2,000 to \$3,000</i>	<i>\$3,000 to \$4,000</i>	<i>\$4,000 to \$5,000</i>	<i>Over \$5,000</i>
Pastor	4.7	34.6	22.4	12.9	7.6	17.8
Assistant	17.1	32.0	31.5	17.1	1.7	0.5

The fact that over 17 per cent. of the male assistants receive less than \$1,000, of course, must signify that most of them are unmarried men, frequently students in apprenticeship.

The salary of the male assistant rises with each type of church from the slightly adapted to the socially adapted. The unadapted churches are left out of the count because they so rarely have assistants. In the socially adapted churches only does the range of assistants' salaries go beyond \$4,000, reaching as high as \$8,000 in one case.¹⁶

EDUCATION, EXPERIENCE AND SALARY OF FEMALE WORKER

In strong contrast with the prevalence of higher education for all male church workers, 55 per cent. of all female paid assistants do not have education of college grade. Sixteen per cent. of this group, however, have some special vocational training. This leaves 39 per cent. who are neither college graduates nor specially trained; whereas but 8 per cent. of pastors and 16 per cent. of other male assistants are without specific professional preparation.

The proportion of college-trained female assistants increases directly but slowly with the complexity of the church types. In

¹⁶ Appendix Table 19.

other words, higher education is definitely associated with the more permanent and better paid jobs.¹⁷

The more highly developed the types of churches the longer the average experience of the woman workers, but the socially adapted are practically the only churches that secure female assistants of really long experience. In other words, church work has not yet become a career for women except in connection with the specialized and semi-professional service included in the work of the internally adapted and socially adapted churches. Like the American school-teacher, the woman assistant in the city church is generally very young and her stay in her religious calling very brief.

The salary of the female assistant, based on 321 cases reported, is almost always under \$2,000 and one-third of the salaries are less than \$1,000. Nearly one-fourth are in the group of from \$1,500 to \$2,000, the latter sum being virtually the maximum.

The salary increases somewhat with each development of type, but the difference is slight.¹⁸

CURRENT OPERATING EXPENSES

The 917 churches reporting on annual current expenses represented a total of 539,233 members and a combined annual current expenditure of \$9,798,920, an average of \$18.17 per capita. The range of current expense budgets is shown in Table LII.

TABLE LII—CURRENT EXPENSES OF 917 CITY CHURCHES

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Distribution of Churches Number</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Under \$5,000	391	42.7
\$5,000 to \$10,000	191	20.8
\$10,000 to \$15,000	93	10.1
\$15,000 to \$20,000	72	7.9
\$20,000 to \$25,000	57	6.2
\$25,000 to \$50,000	95	10.4
\$50,000 to \$75,000	15	1.6
\$75,000 and over	3	0.3

The vast difference between the highest and the lowest rates of expenditure shown in this table is impressive. In the "under \$5,000" group are thirty-one churches that spend less than \$1,000 as contrasted with the three churches in the highest group that spend more than \$75,000 annually. The most characteristic group (constituting 43 per cent. of the total) spends less than \$5,000. Eighty-eight per cent. spend less than \$25,000.

¹⁷ In conflict with this general tendency, it is the internally adapted church that has the lowest proportion of trained women. This is doubtless due to the fact that their large staff requires more purely clerical specialists. Such positions can be held by women of proper business training but without higher education.

¹⁸ Appendix Tables 20, 21 and 23.

The per cent. of churches spending more than \$5,000 increases directly with the complexity of the types as based on program. This is merely the reflection in terms of finance of the concomitant increase in all aspects which has been traced in detail.

Thus, the modal expenditure of the unadapted church is from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year, although there are nearly as many of this group that spend from \$1,000 to \$2,000, and 10 per cent. of them even less than \$1,000.

The most frequent budget of the slightly adapted church is also from \$2,000 to \$3,000. The range, however, is greater; more than one-fifth of such churches spending from \$5,000 to \$10,000, while some budgets in this type run as high as from \$50,000 to \$75,000. Such large, conventional churches which spend great sums without broadening their program may be spending extravagantly and ostentatiously. Others, probably, are maintaining missions and philanthropies whose cost is covered in the church budget but could not be disentangled statistically.

The most representative budgets of the internally adapted type are from \$5,000 to \$10,000, while one-fifth of the churches of this type cost over \$25,000.

The modal expenditure of the socially adapted church is from \$10,000 to \$15,000, while nearly one-third cost over \$25,000, and 3 per cent. over \$75,000. The last named, of course, constitute groups of social institutions under the administration of a church rather than single church enterprises.

Although, in view of the broad variation in current expense budgets that characterize all the types and virtually all the subtypes,¹⁹ averages on this point are less revealing than the modal tendencies already commented upon, the striking reflection of general development in terms of finance can best be shown by their use in Chart XXXVI.

Each and every regular increase in program, either novel or conventional, is accompanied by an enlarged budget. The ascending scale is unbroken. More work inevitably means greater cost.

When per capita current expenditures are substituted for absolute costs, the only considerable difference between the types turns out to be between the unadapted group and all the others, as shown in the following tabulation:

<i>Type</i>	<i>Per Capita Current Expense</i>
Unadapted	\$14.75
Slightly adapted	\$17.96
Internally adapted	\$19.12
Socially adapted	\$19.95

¹⁹ Appendix Table 24.

While the unadapted church costs approximately one-fourth less per member to operate than the other three types, these last differ but little among themselves. Decidedly the most economical type is the socially adapted. With four times as broad a program and three times as large an average staff as the unadapted, it costs only one-fourth more per capita. The slightly adapted type, with a program

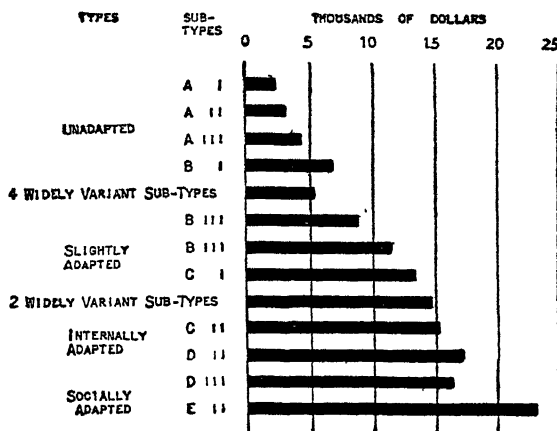


CHART XXXVI

Average Current Expense Budgets of Churches, by Types and Subtypes.

twice as broad, and the internally adapted type, with a program three times as broad and a staff twice as large, are also more economical, in terms of service rendered, than is the unadapted type.²⁰

ANNUAL BENEVOLENCES

A total annual benevolence of \$5,917,540, or an average of \$11.52 per capita, was reported by 842 churches, with 513,511 members.

There is an enormous range in benevolence between the 4.5 per cent. of churches giving less than \$100 and the 8.1 per cent. giving more than \$25,000. However, benevolences of less than \$1,000 are strongly characteristic, more than one-third (35 per cent.) of all cases falling within this limit. Two-thirds of the churches give less than \$5,000 in annual benevolence.

The proportion of churches contributing less than \$1,000 decreases and the proportion contributing more than \$5,000 increases directly with the complexity of the types.²¹

²⁰ Appendix Table 25.

²¹ Appendix Tables 26 and 26a.

Judged on the per capita basis, the unadapted churches are giving only about two-thirds as much as the average, as seen in the following comparison:

Type	Per Capita Benevolence
Unadapted	\$ 7.79
Slightly adapted	\$12.14
Internally adapted	\$12.03
Socially adapted	\$12.55

There are slight gains in benevolences with the increasing complexity of program but the three more developed types run close together at this point. This means that the churches which have narrower pro-

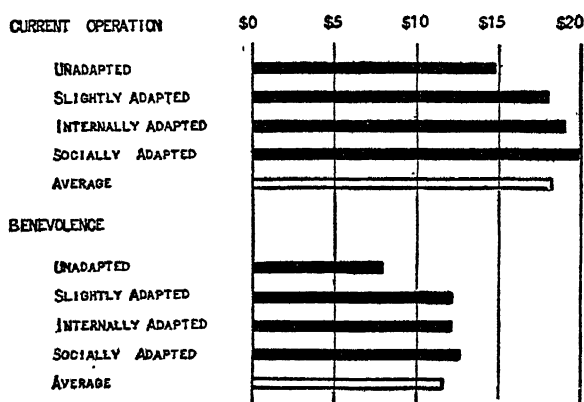


CHART XXXVII

Annual Per Capita Current Expenses and Benevolences, by Types of Churches.

grams are in general not only paying relatively more for themselves but also relatively less for benevolences. The low standing of the unadapted churches, however, is largely explained by their poverty.²²

VALUE OF PROPERTY

A total property value of about \$50,000,000 is given by 507 city churches reporting on this point. This averages nearly \$100,000 per church; but the median for all churches is only \$35,000.

Both the median and the arithmetical average value of property increases directly with the increasing complexity of the church types and generally from subtype to subtype.

²² Certain subtypes present a departure from this tendency. See p. 113.

This is true also of the seating capacity of the auditorium, which averages 591 for all churches.

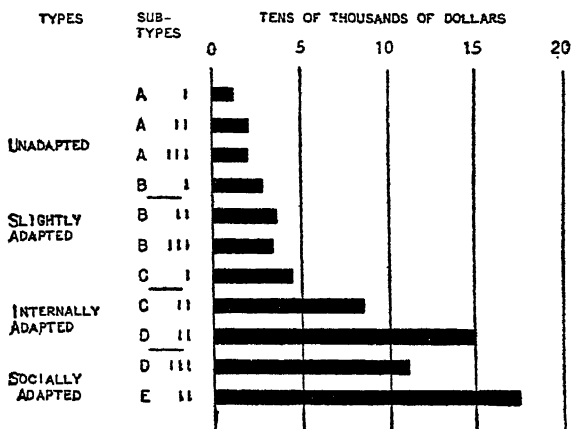


CHART XXXVIII

Median Value of Church Property, by Subtypes.

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN CHURCH

The two least developed types have characteristically fewer than ten rooms, and the two most developed types have from ten to

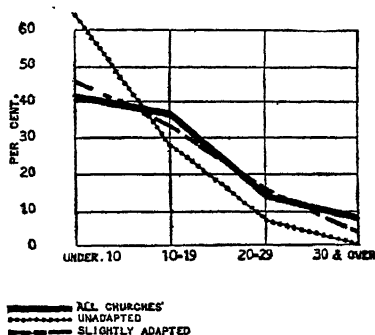


CHART XXXIX

Per Cent. Distribution of Number of Rooms in Church Buildings, by Types.

twenty rooms. Only one-third of the unadapted churches have more than ten rooms, while over one-fifth have less than two rooms, seven

rooms being the median for this type. At the other extreme, about one-third of the socially adapted churches have more than twenty rooms.

In other words, there is a close correlation between the complexity of church program and the number of rooms in the church building.

The church structure is relatively permanent, while the church program is flexible and easily changed from year to year. While, therefore, it is only natural that the church building should reflect

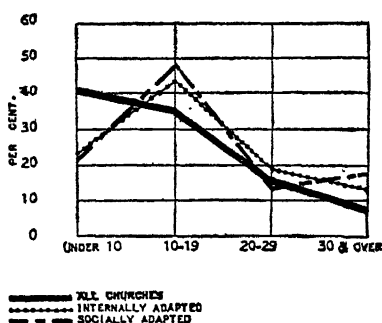


CHART XXXIXa

Per Cent. Distribution of Number of Rooms in Church Buildings, by Types.

the program for the sake of which it is built, it is somewhat of a surprise that the correspondence is so close. It had been supposed that many churches, especially those that had "seen better days," would show buildings far too large for them. This does not appear to be the case so far as the maximum needs of their programs are concerned. On the other hand, it is easy to see that size and character of the building would necessarily limit the church's program. All in all, the city church in general seems to fit very definitely the building in which it is housed.

EQUIPMENT FACILITIES

From five to ten out of the following classified list of twenty-eight equipment facilities were the most frequent number reported for the 1,044 city churches:

Administration

Typewriter
Addressograph
Mimeograph
Office
Study
Card index, members
Card index, constituency

Education

Stereopticon
Blackboards
Printing Plant
Library
Movies
Maps

Publicity

Electric Sign
Letterhead
Bulletin Board
Church Paper

Service

Kitchen
Dining-room
Baths
Toilets
Drinking Fountains

Community Service

Gymnasium
Swimming Pool
Day Nursery
Kindergarten
Bowling
Billiards

The more highly developed types naturally show a larger number of such facilities, from ten to fifteen being characteristic of the internally adapted type and from fifteen to twenty of the socially adapted. In movable equipment for work, then, as well as in fixed plant, increasing complexity is directly registered.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

The most frequent city Sunday school has from one to two hundred enrolled pupils. Over three-fourths have fewer than 500, while about 7 per cent. have more than 1,000 pupils.

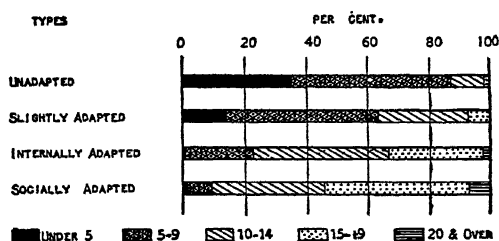


CHART XL

Per Cent. Distribution of Number of Equipment Facilities of Four Major Types.

The rule is that the more developed the type the larger Sunday school it has, both in enrollment and in average attendance, but the internally adapted type has more very large schools than has the socially adapted. The correspondence between complexity of pro-

gram and increasing Sunday-school enrollment runs with great exactness from subtype to subtype. Thus the Sunday school, although frequently administered with relatively little connection with the church and seemingly loosely attached to it, turns out to respond very minutely to the general development of the parent organization.

ADDITIONAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

The original determination of church types was upon the basis of number and frequency of specified organizations and activities within a list of thirty-three which occurred on all the schedules by

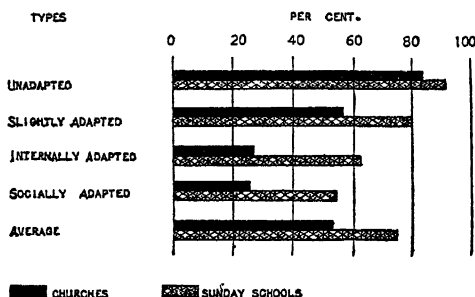


CHART XLI

Per Cent. of Churches and Sunday Schools with Fewer Than 500 Members, by Types.

means of which the 1,044 cases were studied. Twelve additional items of information were available for 853 churches. Their relative frequency in the churches reporting is given in Table LIII.²³

The frequency of these items almost invariably increases with the complexity of church program. All are far more characteristic of the highly developed types than of the less developed ones.

The frequency of these twelve items was calculated independently. It confirms absolutely the principle established by the original thirty-three items included in the general frequency scale; namely, that churches may be divided into types according to the number and range of their activities. The briefer and arbitrarily chosen list has been proved a good yardstick. If the twelve supplemental items had been incorporated into it the results in the determination of types would have been substantially the same.

²³ Appendix Table 36.

TIME GIVEN TO THE CHURCH

The use of any mere check list of organizations and activities for the determination of church types would have been open to question had its validity not had such ample confirmation from so many standpoints. An interesting final demonstration of its validity

TABLE LIII—PER CENT. OF CHURCHES REPORTING CERTAIN SPECIFIED ACTIVITIES, IN EACH TYPE*

<i>Activities</i>	<i>Un- adapted</i>	<i>Slightly Adapted</i>	<i>Internally Adapted</i>	<i>Types Socially Adapted</i>	<i>Widely Adven- turous</i>	<i>Variant Conser- vative</i>	<i>Total</i>
Coöperation with social agencies..	26.7	43.4	61.6	84.4	41.3	77.1	49.2
Church office open daily	16.8	34.1	64.4	72.9	18.7	65.7	40.8
Organized Athletics	13.1	27.2	52.0	69.8	20.0	54.3	34.5
Church open daily for devotion ...	8.4	14.7	26.0	41.7	10.7	25.7	18.8
Daily vacation Bible school	8.9	15.1	26.6	47.9	22.7	37.1	21.3
Motion-pictures ..	3.7	10.8	22.6	40.6	20.0	40.0	17.0
Children's congregations	5.2	9.0	16.9	32.3	2.7	20.0	12.7
Week-day school of religious education	7.9	9.0	20.3	28.1	14.7	20.0	14.2
Children's sermons	4.2	9.7	14.7	32.3	....	28.6	12.0
Sunday evening tea	2.6	13.6	28.8	43.8	8.0	34.3	18.1
Forum	2.1	4.7	10.7	26.0	2.7	8.6	7.7
Room and board..	1.0	1.1	1.1	9.4	1.3	2.9	2.1

* See Appendix Table 35 for number of churches reporting under each type.

is found when, instead of counting each organization and activity as one and merely considering the frequency of their occurrence, the actual hours of attendance on church activities which the differ-

TABLE LIV — AGGREGATE HOURS OF MONTHLY ATTENDANCE ON CHURCH ACTIVITIES AND HOURS PER MEMBER, BY TYPES

<i>Type</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Average Hours Per Church</i>	<i>Average Hours Per Member</i>
Unadapted	12	1,173	9.5
Slightly adapted	15	2,645	7.5
Internally adapted	19	7,493	8.9
Socially adapted	4	12,559	14.6

ent items of the check list imply are calculated. This has been done for a limited number of churches (chiefly in Springfield, Mass.) for which information was available, with the results given in Table LIV.

As appears in this table the more highly developed types not only have more activities, but greatly excel the less developed in the average aggregate of monthly attendance-hours by which their total activities have been measured. They also tend to show a larger average number of hours per member spent in church activities. There is, however, one striking exception: the smaller average membership of the unadapted church compels it to spend a large amount of time even to operate the very limited kind of activities which its type affords. This type, therefore, shows more average hours per member than the two succeeding types. Its high cost in time goes with its relatively high per capita cost in money, as previously demonstrated. It is also to be noted that the slightly adapted church spends nearly as many hours per member on the average in church activities as does the internally adapted church, in spite of the less extended program. This is also probably due to the larger average memberships of the internally adapted churches. In many respects this broader participation in church life by the average member of the less developed types is a striking advantage over the more developed ones.

Twenty-one factors have now been enumerated that show concomitant change corresponding to the increasing complexity of church programs. A few factors varying from the main tendency will be next considered.

Changes Not Accompanying Enlarged Programs

RATIO OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT TO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

This factor shows a tendency exactly the reverse of that which was demonstrated in the previous section. Enrollment in all city churches combined averages 63 per cent. of church membership, or slightly less than two-thirds. This shows the relative size of the Sunday school as a factor in the general church program. It is usually a larger factor with the less developed than with the more highly developed types and diminishes directly with the degree of complexity of program as follows:²⁴

<i>Type</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
Unadapted	69
Slightly adapted	68
Internally adapted	61
Socially adapted	52

This tendency appears perfectly natural when it is considered that in the smallest and narrowest programs the Sunday school is

²⁴ Appendix Table 32.

one-third or one-fourth of the total area of church activity, while it becomes only one item out of twenty or more in the highly developed churches.

The frequency of the cradle roll also fails to increase with the development of the types. The home department, indeed, is less characteristic of the more highly developed than of the traditional church. Highly developed churches, however, more frequently have teacher-training classes, daily vacation Bible schools, week-day re-

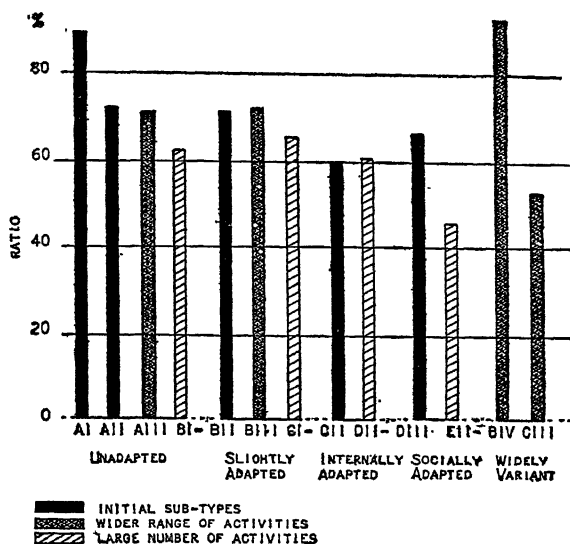


CHART XLII

Ratio of Sunday-School Enrollment to Church Membership, by Subtypes.

ligious instruction (though this is infrequent in any case), and separate children's congregations on Sunday.

The relative importance of these several items cannot be determined, but it is at least questionable whether the combined agencies of religious education have proportionately expanded to match other aspects of the church's development of program.

PASTOR'S EDUCATION

The tradition that the city pastor should be fully educated, in the sense of having both college and seminary training, has authority among all types of churches, with the result that there is less vari-

ation among the types in this respect than in any other. Nearly 80 per cent. of all city pastors have the degree of education above indicated.²⁵

RATIO OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE TO ENROLLMENT

The average attendance of the city Sunday school is 61 per cent. of its enrollment and there is very slight difference among the types on this point. No one of them is doing appreciably better or worse in getting its enrolled pupils into actual attendance.

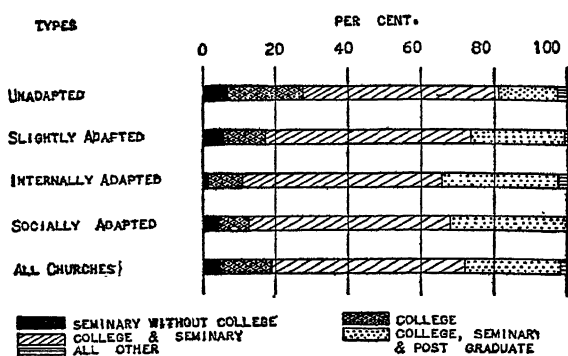


CHART XLIII

Per Cent. Distribution of Pastors Having Specified Degree of Education, by Types.

A few factors show a number of significant variations from type to type, but no regular tendencies. They introduce minor discords into the close harmony which has been discovered between development of programs and other factors.²⁶

FREQUENCY OF REMOVAL

The median age of city churches has been discovered to be forty-two years, while the median length of occupancy of their present site is only twenty-five years. The relative frequency with which any type has moved has been determined by comparing the ratio of occupancy to age, as shown on the opposite page.²⁷

²⁵ Appendix Table 13.

²⁶ Appendix Table 34.

²⁷ Appendix Table 8.

Of course the higher the ratio of occupancy to age the less frequently have the churches of the type moved.

The results show no uniform tendency as among the types. The slightly adapted have been most permanent relatively to their average age and the internally developed least so. The unadapted have had

<i>Type</i>	<i>Ratio of Occu- pancy to Age</i>	<i>Rank by Degree of Permanence</i>
Unadapted	53	3
Slightly adapted	70	1
Internally adapted	49	4
Socially adapted	55	2

the next to the most frequent removals, while the socially adapted have been next to the most permanent. Explanations of these phenomena are attempted in a later connection.

EDUCATION, EXPERIENCE AND TENURE OF ASSISTANT MALE WORKER

On these points again there is no regular tendency as among the types. Assistant workers are so rare in the unadapted churches that they may be ignored. When the slightly adapted church has a male assistant he is usually traditionally trained and functions as a pastor's understudy, whereas with the internally adapted and socially adapted churches he is more likely to be a specialist in some form of recreational or educational leadership without full ministerial training. Here again, however, variations appear. The socially adapted type, with its ultra-specialization, has the largest number of such people in its employ, while the internally adapted church takes more men of the Young Men's Christian Association type, presumably with specialized ability as leaders of boys or as athletic coaches, but without higher education of any sort.

The slightly adapted type is the only one employing men of long experience as male assistants. The tenure of the male assistant also shows erratic variations, being shortest with the internally adapted type.²⁸

SUNDAY-SCHOOL AGE DISTRIBUTION

One of the most significant variations from the prevailing tendency is at this point. The distribution of the nearly 150,000 Sunday-school pupils enrolled in the 841 city churches reporting on this item is given on the next page.²⁹

²⁸ Appendix Tables 16-18.

²⁹ Appendix Table 35.

It will be observed that over one-half of the enrollment consists of pupils in infancy and childhood, one-fifth of young people and one-fourth of adults.

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution</i>
Under 6 (infancy)	10.2
6-14 (childhood)	43.3
15-20 (adolescence)	20.2
21 and over (adulthood)	26.3

Variations are discovered among the several types as follows: Compared with the average, the slightly adapted is deficient in adolescence; the unadapted strong in childhood but deficient in adolescence and maturity; the internally adapted deficient in childhood but exceptionally strong with adolescence and maturity; while the

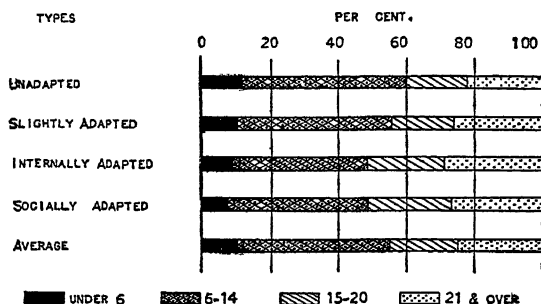


CHART XLIV

Age Distribution of Sunday-School Pupils, by Types.

socially adapted is deficient with infancy and childhood and especially strong with youth. In other words, the Sunday school of the unadapted churches is chiefly a children's institution, while the slightly adapted churches have somewhat more children but fewer adolescents. The two more highly developed types, on the contrary, have the largest number of young people and adults, the internally adapted holding both of these groups while the socially adapted succeeds mainly with adolescents.

The general tendencies revealed by the types run pretty steadily throughout the subtypes also.

In other words, the more varied and extensive program of the more highly developed types tends to success in holding young people and adults in the allegiance of the Sunday school. Holding young people has been the particular difficulty of all churches and

the discovery that churches with a more complex program succeed better in this respect is an important contribution to religious knowledge in an important realm.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

While there is a definite tendency for developed church programs to go with centrally located churches, most of the environmental factors influence the types irregularly. If they are centrally located, their average character and the quality of local environment varies without apparent relationship to the ascending or descending scale based upon scope of program. If they are residential, the quality of residential territory and the compactness or dispersion of members in the parish show no regular tendency. These factors have special discussion in a later connection.³⁰

Minor Variations

Beyond the study of general tendencies, the main purpose of breaking up the total body of city churches into statistical types registering degrees of likeness and unlikeness, was, first, to discover the more detailed course of urban adaptation, and secondly, to find its limits. While to a remarkable degree the general tendencies illustrated in the above discussion of the related factors of church life are followed by the statistical subtypes as well as by the general types, it was not to be expected that there would be no variations. The more significant ones are discussed in connection with the several types and appear in detail in the statistical tables of the appendix.

Certain interesting tendencies appear, however, which show that variations of the subtypes from the general types have a certain orderliness and follow implicit laws.

NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES VS. RANGE OF ACTIVITIES

An increase in the number of church activities tends to be accompanied by greater variation in other aspects of development than an increase in their range. It was not known in advance what effect one degree of development in either direction would register. Would a single step in one or the other coincide with equal degrees of change? This proved not to be the case. Almost invariably, adding more activities of the same kind was associated with greater change than an increase of activities involving wider range but no greater number. Chart XLV shows this tendency in terms of church mem-

³⁰ Appendix Table 37.

bership. The adventurous subtypes A III and B III have a broader program than the subtypes A I and B II, but they average but little larger in membership, while the conservative subtypes B I, C I and E II (which represent a fuller program without increase of range) are much larger than the initial subtypes of their respective types.⁸¹ Subtype D II, which is only slightly larger than Subtype C II, proves something of an exception.

Apparently a church of a given membership finds it easier to

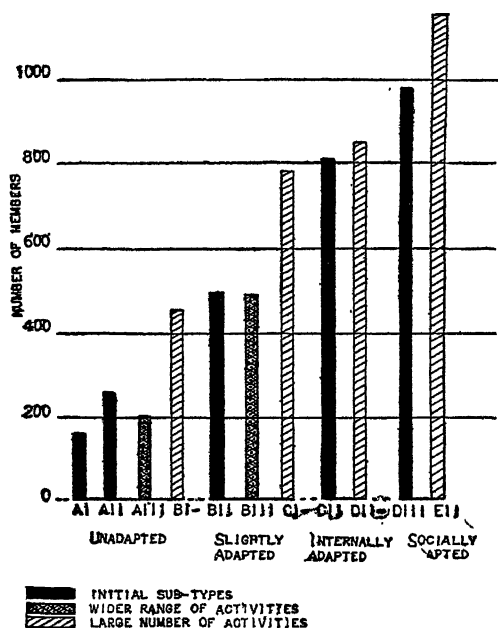


CHART XLV

Average Size of Church Membership, by Subtypes.

operate selectively, dropping out some elements of the traditional program in order to take on novelties, than it does to add to the total number of its activities. In other words, the tendency toward novelty and adventuresomeness requires less all-around change and development than an equal tendency to conservatism.

The same tendency is shown by the average size of church auditorium. Within each type the subtypes that imply novel development (A III and B III) have but slightly larger average facilities for preaching than the initial subtype of their respective types, while

⁸¹ See pp. 327 and 65 f.

those that imply conservative development (B I, C I and E II) tend to have considerably larger facilities as shown in Chart XLVI. If widely variant types are also considered, those expressing novel tendencies do not have larger auditoriums than the average of the

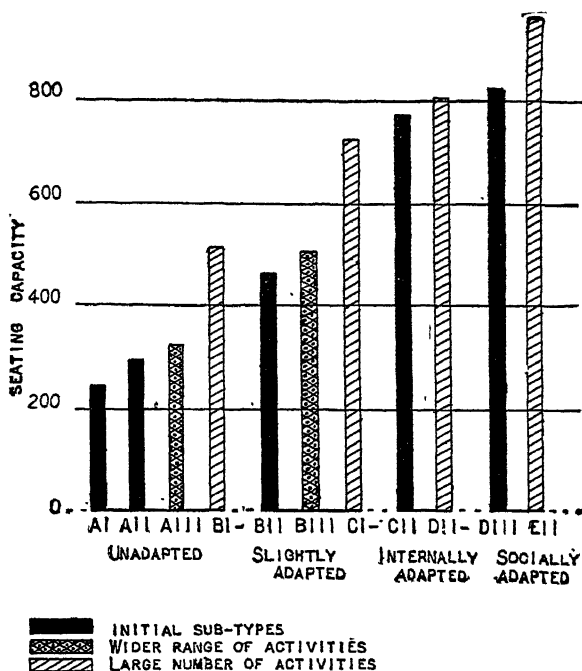


CHART XLVI

Average Seating Capacity of Auditoriums, by Subtypes.

unadapted type, while those expressing conservative tendencies almost equal the socially adapted type in average size.

RESULTS FROM ANOTHER ANGLE

Translated, however, into terms of per capita averages and ratios, certain phases of church life show a contrary tendency. Measured on this basis, a smaller degree of concomitant change accompanies increase in number of activities than accompanies increase in range. One of these aspects is illustrated in Chart XLVII, which graphs per capita current expenses by subtypes.

Three phenomena are outstanding in this chart.

(1) The less developed of the regular types—the unadapted and

slightly adapted—include subtypes whose churches cost as much as or more per capita than those of the most highly developed types.

(2) The subtypes of which this is true are those with adventurous programs (A III and B III). In terms of cost *to the individual member* their novel efforts are extraordinarily expensive.

(3) The irregular and erratic subtypes (represented by A V and B IV) cost very much more than any of the others by the per capita measure. This gives the tendency curve shown on the chart a wavy effect. It reveals a system of setbacks according to which

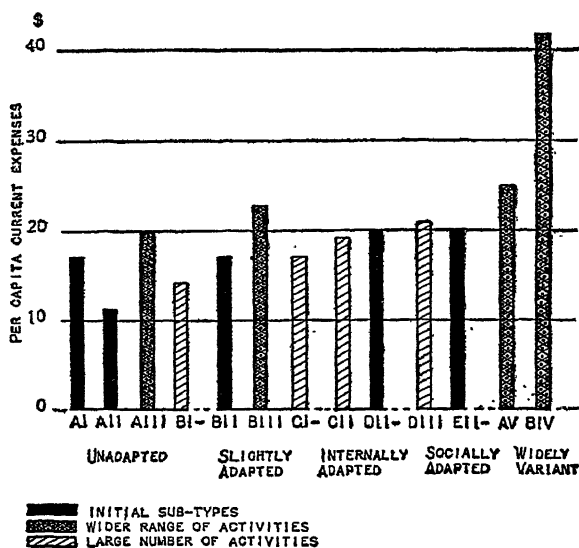


CHART XLVII

Annual Per Capita Current Expenses, by Subtypes.

the costliest subtype within a given type tends to be ahead of the least costly of the succeeding type and frequently ahead of its average. Economy lies in the performance of a larger number of functions of a usual sort while costliness is associated with attempts at novelty.

Somewhat oddly, the tendency to an increased number of more traditional activities is accompanied by a decreased ratio of Sunday-school enrollment to church membership, while change in the direction of novelty of program makes little difference in this point. This appears in Chart XLII. Within the major types, the conservative subtypes B I, C I and E II register a declining importance

of the Sunday school relative to church membership, while the adventurous subtypes A III and B III differ little from the ones preceding them. For purposes of comparison two widely variant subtypes also are shown on the chart. One, composed almost exclusively of churches for foreigners (B IV), has a higher ratio of Sunday-school enrollment to church membership than any other subtype except its equally erratic neighbor, Subtype A V. This reveals the relative inaccessibility of the adult foreigner to the approach of the church compared with the familiar ease of reaching the foreign child. In Subtype C III, however (which is largely identified with the church center or Christian settlement type of institution), the Sunday school is of smaller relative importance than in the regular types. Of the regular types, it is a striking fact that the Sunday school has its smallest relative importance in connection with the highly developed social ministries of Subtype E II.

Such phenomena suggest a general trend of church evolution which has produced a definite and highly coördinated structural result. Extreme dilution of church program is evidence of lack of external resources (expressed in members and money) and is connected with other lesions and displacements requiring further studies for their systematic explanation. The probable general order of cause and consequence is this: When a church gets larger and more wealthy than the average of its type, it adds to its program along lines of conventionality and imitation with virtually no increase of the per capita cost. If it attempts expansion with no increase of size, but at greater gross cost, increased per capita cost is inevitable. This symptom would necessarily be found in all churches of a type that are trying to keep up with others in better circumstances. When, as frequently, this effort takes the form of a broadened range of program, it generally signifies, as the next chapter will demonstrate, that the church involved is suffering from adverse environmental pressure.

CONCLUSIONS BASED UPON COMPARISON

The consideration of general development as accompanying the development of church programs from simplicity to complexity, strikingly confirms the hypothesis that the series of church types reflects stages of urban adaptation. The church suggests an organism in that it exhibits an exceedingly complex and delicately balanced character and life-principle. The general trends, as statistically determined, apply not only to the 88 per cent. of the 1,044 sample churches that walk in a single pathway, but just as significantly to the few variant churches. One can almost always isolate the phe-

nomenon that makes their behavior statistically erratic. The general agreement covers nearly all of the phenomena investigated. Since this is true, if the study had begun at some other end of the problem, and with other factors than those concerning program, it would undoubtedly have reached the same fundamental conclusions—though it is hard to see how an approach through any other aspect should have resulted in so extensive and harmonious a formulation of major clues to the life of the church in the American city.

Unmeasured Forces

Even the most consistent and pervasive trends do not cover quite the entire body of facts. The present study has never deluded itself into thinking that it was measuring nor that its major hypothesis comprehended all the forces involved in the making of the city church. Exceptions remain and these exceptions are data needing explanation. Thus, for example, a few large and practically important churches have been found within the less developed types. Their position is somewhat of a surprise and raises natural questions. To explain these and similar exceptions three supplemental principles are necessary: (1) Greater or smaller resources determine and limit the adaptations that churches can make. (2) Varying religious convictions influence the ways in which churches express urban adaptation. (3) Specialization also modifies the usual course of urban adaptation.

The first of these principles is too obvious to require elaboration, and is well illustrated by the characteristics of Subtype B III.³² Of course the church is not merely a mechanically constructed organism in which equal resources, numerical or financial, are necessarily reflected in program, and vice versa. It is fundamentally the expression of a large number of diverse social groups called sects or denominations, each possessing a considerable degree of working harmony within itself, and each attempting to express distinctive religious convictions which are generally formulated into a more or less explicit religious philosophy. It would be strange indeed if these varying convictions did not register as modifying influences in the general process of adaptation. That they have not been more decisively present tends to show the essential homogeneity of Protestantism.

EFFECT OF VARYING RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

The following paragraphs attempt to show how differences in religious convictions explain such exceptions as (1) failure to

³² See p. 112.

evolve; (2) satisfaction with programs more limited than a given stage of general development seems to warrant; and equally (3) a degree of development beyond that which concomitant factors are ordinarily able to support. (4) Finally they show how religious convictions sometimes challenge the entire trend of urban church development and compel one to face even larger and more radical considerations than those utilized in the present inquiry.

(1) The church confronted by the city may do nothing different from the tradition of its rural prototype because this wicked world is past saving and is soon to end. This is the answer of the premillenarian; essentially also of other deliberately narrow churches. Religion is apart from the rest of life, and modern social tendencies, especially as expressed by the city, are essentially irreligious or evil. Such considerations enter into the lack of development of such movements as were illustrated in Cases VII and VIII.³³

The premillenarian has the unassailable logic of his position; if it is true he is right. The traditionalist on the contrary has no logical leg to stand on. It is historically proven that even his present meager program of church activity once had an evolution and was the result of an attempted adaptation of the church to the needs of a bygone age and social order. If the traditionalist would follow his own history he would again try to adapt his program to the living present. Instead he will only preserve on ice what his fathers got cold from grandfathers who wrought it in hot blood.

(2) The second course open is to let some other agency than the church do anything new that needs to be done.

This is essentially the choice of the typical church. It supports the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, conventional city missions and non-sectarian charities. Often it carries on quite adventurous programs of work, through branch churches or settlements and for another grade of people. Meanwhile its program for people of its own sort is unoriginal and merely average. It does not act as though its constituents were city people with modern urban characteristics; and probably the controlling group is not composed of such people. They are most likely people whose habits were fixed before the city became as complex as it is now. If prosperous they have intrenched themselves in outlying or suburban single-family dwellings where they live in the past. Their children went away from home so long ago that they do not realize how changed are the conditions of bringing up a family in the city. If poor and beyond middle age they may have little homes out of the main currents of life, perhaps in one of the less changed sections of the older city;

³³ See pp. 135 and 137.

or else they have so recently come to the city that they do not understand its characteristics.

All these conditions make it possible for conventional churches to continue in large numbers even when not hopelessly chained by ironbound traditions and in spite of the immense pressure of the city in new directions. The most frequent type has very little true urban adaptation, as shown, for example, in Case I.³⁴

From a totally different standpoint, a small minority of churches, controlled by people radically critical of fundamental aspects of the existing social order, are for letting some one else than the organized church meet the new needs of the city. They are anything but drifters. Their program, if anything, is too precise. They would have the public carry on most of the new functions proposed for the church. Public school and recreational centers would furnish the plant and highly organized neighborhood activities would contrive programs of helpful and uplifting life suited to the downtown city. Neighborhood organization would associate people without regard to creed or race.

The theory of such a church is that to project the personalities of its members into public and non-sectarian idealistic activities is better than to attempt to organize them primarily through the activities of the church as an institution. The theory works sometimes, at least to the extent of a very wide enlistment of members in civic and social responsibilities in which such a church may go far beyond that of any other in the city.

Such a result, it is felt, is more truly Christian than anything that can be accomplished through the denominational church and under the professed Christian label. The church remains as the inspirer and interpreter of life. It should adapt itself by understanding and sympathizing with life on all sides rather than by elaborating its service-program. It must subordinate itself institutionally and literally lose itself in the larger collective activities of the community.

By thus limiting the development of church programs, this position in practice comes to much the same ground as that of the slightly adapted church. It would not carry the church as such any farther. Positively, however, it would go much farther than any church program yet projected through socialized public and voluntary activities under Christian ideals and the Christian impulse.

(3) A third option is implicit in the position of the internally adapted church.

It feels the distinctive life and atmosphere of the city and desires to serve it. It does not see why the church should not go ahead

³⁴ See p. 115.

and supply any activity that may be necessary to meet the demand of additional age-, and sex-organizations or why it should not directly do what Christian activity and finance have long done through the Young Men's Christian Association, etc. It is entirely opportunistic as to the limits of its program and, in general, quite satisfied when it has added a few additional recreational and educational features under specialized leadership, so as to give a fairly rounded outline to the older traditional elements.

In general, however, the church does not attempt to elaborate its program except under favorable conditions, the chief of which is homogeneity of constituency. This was strikingly true of Case XX.³⁵ Its following must be, on the whole, of the same social level. As will later be seen, a church generally achieves this condition either by moving away from mixed neighborhoods or by bringing its own people from long distances, neglecting the immediate neighborhood if its inhabitants are radically different from the church's own clientele. The church thus dodges the deeper issue of adaptation, namely, how all sorts and conditions of men can be thrown together and still live as Christian brethren.

(4) Exceptional internally adapted churches, as illustrated by Case XIX, and the socially adapted type generally meet this issue squarely. The special genius of the latter is, first, inclusion, and, second, localization. It tries to get down to the level of the lowest man and to assist all who are physical neighbors to achieve a fraternity in the bonds of Christian fellowship. It undoubtedly shows the completest phase of urban adaptation. In this type, the church has begun, at least, not only to be adapted to the city as a whole but to all aspects of the city as they are localized, including all the varieties of its people and their manifold social needs.

The novelty of the programs of socially adapted churches, rather than their number, has given the type so large a place in the imagination. As a matter of fact, the socially adapted churches make up less than one-tenth of the sample of 1,044 churches and probably a considerably smaller fraction of all city churches. This proportion is large enough to show that the church is conscious of the city's challenge to it to undertake radical experiments in the direction of adaptation. At the same time the relative infrequency of such experiments emphasizes the caution and perhaps the wisdom of the city church, which are obviously based in large measure on religious conservatism. The church's instinct may be right. Is it really within the power of any sectarian version of life to solve the more serious social problems of city communities? The answer supplied by common practice is that the church shall not attempt social service

³⁵ See p. 169.

of a general kind. And that answer, based perhaps upon the church's knowledge of its own limitations, may be wise, provided, however, that Christian initiative and leadership must not rest until they have found and used interdenominational and civic organizations better suited to the task.

A FURTHER QUESTION

Increasing complexity is the genius of institutionalism. No other major tendency appears more likely to lead to larger service and the final Christian conquest of the city. Yet it is by no means sure that the greatest power of Christianity is ever to be expressed through ecclesiastical development. The church is the discoverer and inspirer of motives, a mighty creator of group-ideals of men and a leader of human capacity for fellowship. Its ultimate values, of course, go beyond any possibility that is measured or even prophesied by the mere study of the city church in its present functions and tendencies. Perhaps the main contribution of this investigation is therefore properly negative—a demonstration of how few churches on the whole have really adjusted themselves to the more radical needs of the city and at least a query as to the bearing of religious conservatism upon the fact. Can the church as a denominational organization and with its present average outlook hope to do better?

The Influence of Specialization

Unusual success in some one aspect of church life or unquestionable failure frequently leads to further deliberate limitations within any given type of program. The first experience magnifies some particular part of the possible program and inhibits the will to evolve further, tempting the church to specialize on some one thing that it can do easily and well. The other proves that some lines of effort are impossible and leaves the church doing at least passably what it is still able to do in spite of many aspects of failure. Churches that yield to specialization from either of these causes often stand out as exceptions to the general tendencies of the types to which they belong. They occur often enough to compel one to recognize the principle of specialization as operating somewhat independently of the main trend of ecclesiastical development.

The most frequent form of specialization in conservative directions is found to be specialized emphasis upon preaching. This is in line with the oldest traditions of the church and is frequently the direction of greatest advantage. Where, by specializing on pulpit ministries, the church affords a platform from which a prophet may speak or on which a great popular expositor of life may exercise

distinguished gifts, it may well afford to minimize the rest of its program. No other function can match that of giving splendid utterance to a life-giving word. A considerable number of churches, therefore, will be found in the unadapted groups whose pulpits are filled by influential men, but whose programs are extremely limited measured by general practice.

Case XXIX—Subtype C I

A church that is nationally known on account of the distinction of one of its members falls in the slightly adapted class. In this case it is quite obviously the principle of specialization that has halted further development. Some of the things that fall without the range of the ordinary church, this church can do easily and naturally under its peculiar circumstances, and these things it has chosen to do superlatively. It is, in brief, not only a church but a public platform.

Centrally located downtown on a site occupied since 1866 and adjoining the present heart of the shopping district, with over 1,500 members, its Sunday school numbers less than 200 and has an average attendance of about 125. Its children's departments are amazingly weak, reporting enrollment in a recent year as follows.

<i>Department</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
Primary	33
Junior	24
Intermediate	33

On the other hand, public worship draws vast congregations, the sign "Standing room only" being usual on Sunday mornings. A large proportion of those at the morning service and the great majority attending the evening service are strangers, many of them visitors to the city. At the monthly evening communion service, however, during a recent year, it was noted that most of this unknown audience joined in the sacrament. This showed that those who came were in the main publicly confessed Christians, using the church as a place to enjoy services, but bound to it by no other tie and accepting no responsibility.

In addition to being a great public platform on Sundays, the church conducts "preaching missions," lasting a week at a time and held at intervals throughout the winter, at which are heard some of the great religious leaders of the country. Nearly \$5,000 a year is expended on this feature alone.

Finally, the church gathers great Sunday afternoon audiences for organ recitals, for which the foremost organists of the country play upon one of the most notable instruments possessed by any church.

In each of these functions the church ministers to listeners; and this is by far the greatest part of all that it does. Obviously, if it did nothing else, it would be performing a great religious ministry.

It does, as a matter of fact, also carry on the more ordinary work of a city-wide parish. About one-third of the members live within one mile of the church, another third within the second mile, and the remainder farther out in the direction of the city's main growth. Further than this, there are the ordinary organizations of a slightly adapted church for women and young people. An assistant pastor is employed, and a church office is open part of each day. The church takes a worthy, though not a conspicuous, part in denominational enterprises, but it is singularly lacking in breadth of enterprise. In the large it specializes in conventional ministries which it can do best, showing no notable originality of program.

This specialization appears definitely in the finances of the church. It

largely supports itself, for example, out of its floating congregations, taking in as much money from loose collections as it does from all stated contributions and pew rents. Furthermore, income from these sources is increasing faster than that from any other source. This is the direction in which the church is striving. In order to secure this income it spends more than \$5,000 annually on publicity and printing, over three-fifths of which amount goes outright to newspaper advertising.

Somewhat similar in its exceptional character is a church in the downtown part of a far western city which is locally said to have "more attendance than all other Protestant churches in the city put together." Despite this fact, its program, from the standpoint of the ordinary church, is very undeveloped. The pastor cheerfully admits that his whole policy is sensational. He advertises extensively and handles the attractive features of his service exactly as if it were high-class vaudeville. The so-called sermons are rather bits of contemporary journalism than of ordinary preaching. The church, in other words, is primarily the reflection of a unique personality who understands urban psychology and how to cater to transient people. His theory is that when folks go to church at night they wish to fill the entire evening exactly as they would at an entertainment. Consequently his services are two hours long, whereas in an ordinary church people complain if the service exceeds one hour. As a result of this policy the preacher "plays to standing room only" on both Sunday and Wednesday nights. It is, of course, impossible to identify such a performance with any standard type of church.

The existence of such churches as the two described under Case XXIX modifies, but does not nullify, the principle that urban adaptation is generally reflected in development of program. There are exceptions but they do not disprove the rule.

SPECIALIZATION ON THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The biggest thing about some churches is the Sunday school. This may be either the old-fashioned mass school strongly promoted and ably administered but innocent of modern educational ideals, or less frequently, an elaborate course of instruction not, however, carrying over into varying week-day activities. A few churches may and do specialize thus on religious education as the type of service that constitutes for them the greatest and most useful contribution to the community.

OTHER SPECIALIZATIONS

Still other churches specialize on philanthropy. Their programs are conservative and their preaching and religious education undistinguished; but they are great missionary enterprises to the exclusion of normal development. Still others specialize on the maintenance of tradition. They are historic churches whose basic motive is to keep up with the past instead of with the present. They, too, fail to respond normally to urban adaptation.

One is tempted to say that still other churches specialize merely on self-complacency. Usually they are wholly without other distinction. They are so well pleased with themselves that they do not evolve normally. Their dominant purpose is to be "leading churches."

In comparison with the forms of conservative specialization, certain other churches specialize on practical phases of social service to an extent which takes them out of the general trend of adaptation. Plentiful examples of this tendency have been found in the chapter on "Widely Variant Types."

Equal strength and resources being assumed, it is believed that the three supplemental principles above described, namely, strength and resources, distinctive religious convictions and specialization, account for practically all exceptions to the rule that the city church types follow successive stages of urban adaptation and that substantially all significant aspects of church life increase quantitatively in harmony with development of program.

Tentative Conclusions

Of course, strictly speaking, none of the data of the present study bears upon the question whether the city church is evolving in the right direction. Since the data were not gathered over a period of time, the conception of evolution itself had to be derived from very general historical knowledge and comparison with the rural church. There is, however, virtually unchallenged agreement among religious observers that more and more city churches are undertaking more functions. This is in the face of all the restraints of ecclesiastical conviction, and in spite of all the not infrequent advantages of specialization and of the several courses open to radicalism for affecting religious adaptation to the city in other ways than through the evolution of the church as an institution.

Evolution that has taken place against such forces must have some strong inner sanction; and it will not be an extreme assumption to hold that probably, on the whole, the city church is moving in the right direction. When, however, the question is raised, "How far should the movement go?", or "Under what circumstances should the individual church yield to it?", the facts as described can do no more than suggest caution in answering. One may feel quite certain that a larger number of city churches are likely to try the experiment of elaborating their programs in attempted urban adaptation and at the same time quite unsure as to what the final evolution of the urban church will or should be, further than to suspect that it will include more variations than in the past.

Chapter XII

LOCAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE CHURCH TYPES

This chapter begins the second logical division of Part II. In the six preceding chapters the major church types have been described and directly compared in terms of factors internal to the individual church. But individual churches have also many external relationships. The results as exhibited may have been accepted by the reader as an interesting and accurate account of facts reflecting programs and organization, but not therefore as working categories for thought or action upon general church problems in the American city. The following chapters enlarge the point of view and give the data a broader setting. They test the classification of churches by five major types from various external standpoints, showing its value as supplementing other angles of approach to the urban church problem, and its probable superiority as a basic classification.

The first of these other angles of approach is that of local or neighborhood environment.¹

It raises the question of how the classification of churches by types on grounds which have so far ignored particular environment fits in with previous efforts to classify directly by means of local environment.

Adaptation and Local Environment

Does the adaptation of the church to the city (as progressively illustrated in the series of types) mean, in the case of each church, adaptation to some particular geographical area of the city as its local environment? Obviously the city is not all of one social texture. The character of population and the social conditions surrounding one church location will differ greatly from those surrounding another. Will a church generally reflect these differences so that it can be characterized in terms of the local environment?

¹ The adequacy of the environmental data requires special consideration. These data were secured for 313 churches only. Not only, therefore, is the basic material more limited than the main data, but there was no means of judging whether the churches studied constituted a fully balanced sample. The entirely random selection of cases renders it extremely probable, however, that they suggest something of the actual distribution of churches among the environments recognized. But the study makes no pretense of proving, for example, how many city churches are "downtown" and how many residential, or of finally settling any environmental principle. The most it attempts to do is to define certain important problems, as the basis of trends shown by its limited number of cases, and to make a beginning in the methodology of the study of the parish environment.

POPULAR VOGUE OF ENVIRONMENTAL CLASSIFICATION
OF CHURCHES

It is widely assumed that such is the case. A popular way of putting the matter is as follows: Starting with the center of a typical American city, one finds the downtown church. Working out from this center, one comes upon an ugly belt of territory characterized by less desirable habitations, especially boarding-, and rooming-houses, and frequently representing an old residential neighborhood that has seen better days. Here, crowded upon by industry and second-rate business, one finds the "near-downtown" church. Passing this zone by way of the avenues, one comes upon the high-class residential districts with their family churches. Off the side streets, one glimpses the working-class churches. Down in the hollow by the railroad tracks are the foreign and Negro churches. Just beyond the edge of the city are the suburban churches, and still farther out the rural churches.

This principle of classification governed the various lists of church types furnished by denominational executives as a basis for this study in the first steps of its development. Its most brilliant expression has been made by Dr. William P. Shriver.² He distinguishes ten urban types of Protestant churches resulting from city evolution, which, he says, "tend largely to reflect the economic neighborhoods to which they minister."

Following this implied logic, the current popular classification of city churches is environmental. That is to say, the explanation of the *why* of the church is sought by discovering its *where*.³

ACTUAL INFLUENCE OF LOCAL ENVIRONMENT

The degree to which particular immediate environments are actually associated with particular types of city churches is shown for 313 cases in Table LV in terms of the most familiar environmental contrast between "central" and "residential" sections of cities.⁴

² *Interchurch World Survey, American Volume*, p. 31.

³ In Chapter VI of *The St. Louis Church Survey* dealing with the kinds of churches found in that city, the present author attempted by analysis to show that a greater variety of factors than are usually recognized, including historic and psychological ones, would have to enter into a proper classification of city church types. The present statistical classification had not at that time been devised.

⁴ Centrally located churches are defined as (1) those located within the central business district of a city; or (2) located within the wholesale and manufacturing zone immediately surrounding the central business district; or (3) located at a secondary business center serving 100,000 people or more. The churches around Harvard Square in Cambridge are clearly central, even though Cambridge is a satellite of Boston. But so are the churches at the heart of the Wilson Avenue district of Chicago, which has a larger tributary population than Cambridge, though this district is within the city limits. The distribution of 145 churches among these three types of centers appears in Appendix Table 38a.

TABLE LV—TYPES OF CHURCHES LOCATED ACCORDING TO ENVIRONMENT *

Types of Churches	Environment	
	Per Cent. Central	Per Cent. Residential
Unadapted	28.1	71.9
Slightly adapted	43.5	56.5
Internally adapted	52.4	47.6
Socially adapted	49.3	50.7

* See Appendix Table 36 for number of churches reporting under each type.

This table shows in general that the more complex types show slightly greater affinity for central location and, indeed, as the detailed statistics indicate,⁵ for location at the heart of the downtown center. Yet the extremest case of reaction from the downtown center shown by the unadapted type still leaves more than one-fourth of the churches of the sample in this non-characteristic en-

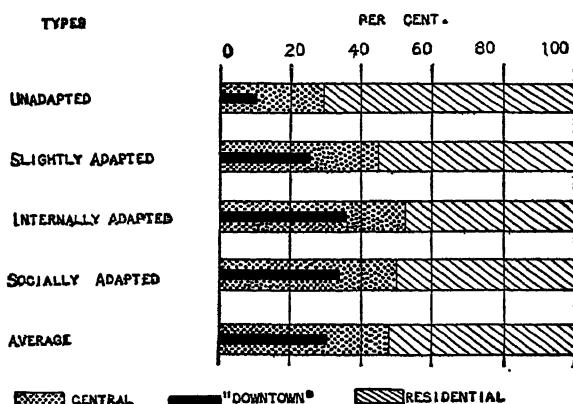


CHART XLVIII

Per Cent. of Central and Residential Churches in Each Type.

vironment, while, as between the two environments, the tendency is almost half and half with the internally adapted and socially adapted churches.

INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL QUALITY OF NEIGHBORHOODS UPON CHURCHES

Table LVI shows for 167 cases the affinity between different church types and the quality of neighborhood in which the resi-

⁵ Appendix Tables 37 and 38a.

dential portion of their churches are located.⁶ It describes immediate environment in the somewhat loose, yet significant, categories "high-class" neighborhood, "middle-class" neighborhood and "industrial or foreign" neighborhood, as determined by first-hand exploration of individual parishes. The unadapted and socially adapted types show a slightly greater affinity and the internally adapted a slightly smaller affinity for middle-class neighborhoods. In turn, the internally adapted churches are most frequent in high-class

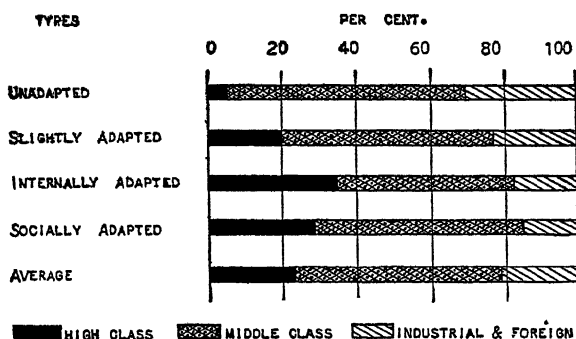


CHART XLIX

Quality of Environment of Residential Churches, by Types.

neighborhoods and the unadapted in industrial and foreign ones. All types, however, are found in fair proportion in all environments (with the exception that the unadapted type is rare in high-class neighborhoods) and none could be fairly characterized as belonging especially to one neighborhood rather than to another.⁷

Light from Parish Geography

In some minds the lack of close correspondence between the types and local environment will not serve to commend the five major types for use as a working classification of city churches. It at least constitutes a legitimate challenge to the major hypothesis of the study: namely, that the types as discovered show different de-

⁶ Of course many churches in residential neighborhoods are visibly attached to such tertiary centers as a group of neighborhood stores, a bank, branch post office and moving-picture house; or to still smaller clusters of business and other institutions or to axial streets lined with retail business establishments. Naturally such points or lines of differentiation accompany the growth of cities. Residential districts expect to have them, and frequently locate churches with reference to them. This does not challenge the essentially residential character of the areas in question. Appendix Table 39 reports sixty-one out of 170 residential churches as tributary to such groupings of neighborhood institutions.

⁷ Appendix Table 39a.

grees of the church's adaptation to the city. If the hypothesis does not mean adaptation to local environment, then what sort of urban adaptation does it mean?

TABLE LVI—CHURCHES IN RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS LOCATED ACCORDING TO QUALITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD

<i>Types</i>	<i>Quality of Neighborhood</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>High-class</i>	<i>Middle-class</i>	<i>Industrial or Foreign</i>	
Unadapted	1	15	7	23
Slightly adapted	14	40	16	70
Internally adapted	14	19	7	40
Socially adapted	10	19	5	34
	<hr/> 39	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 35	<hr/> 167

It would be making a false start to try to answer this query except in the light of parish geography; for it involves a prior question, namely, *where* is a church in the geographical sense?

A church is surely not a building, nor even the activities that go on in a building. Ultimately, of course, the church must be defined by its members. It is a relatively permanent social group—a body of believers. It functions in part, but by no means exclusively, in and through a building at a given geographical location. Frequently the majority of its members do not live in the immediate vicinity. Furthermore, its pastoral ministries, as well as certain organized group meetings, are scattered over the parish. The "Old First" Church of Springfield, Mass., for example, divides its people into twenty districts, each maintaining social and religious gatherings of its own. The practice of religion by the people, which has its distinctive expression through Christian service, must surely be regarded as diffused wherever the people work or live. It will not do, therefore, to assume to express the environmental relations of any church merely by the location of its plant, nor even to settle the question of its local adaptation without asking, first, how far the homes of its members actually occupy a concentrated geographical area around it; and secondly, how it is related or adapted to the actual area in which most of them live. There is a third obvious question: namely, how completely the parish area is occupied by the members; in other words, the degree to which the influence of the church actually fills any geographic district which it may purport to serve.

DISTANCE OF MEMBERS' RESIDENCES FROM CHURCH BUILDING

Distribution of parish membership was studied accurately and measured as to distance for 222 churches and as to direction for

154. To express the results the following designations of types of parish were adopted based on the percentage of members living within one mile:

<i>Geographical Type of Parish</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Members Living Within One Mile</i>
Compact	75 and over
Medium	50-74
Scattered	25-49
Very scattered	Less than 25

The distribution of the churches of the several types among the types of parishes as thus defined was found to be as given in Table LVII.⁸

TABLE LVII—TYPES OF CHURCHES BY TYPES OF GEOGRAPHICAL PARISHES*

<i>Types</i>	<i>Per. Cent. Distribution of Parishes</i>				
	<i>Compact</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Scattered</i>	<i>Very Scattered</i>	<i>Total</i>
Unadapted	34.6	38.5	23.1	3.8	100.0
Slightly adapted	55.2	25.4	17.9	1.5	100.0
Internally adapted ...	43.5	27.4	19.4	9.7	100.0
Socially adapted	35.9	41.0	15.4	7.7	100.0
Widely variant	50.0	32.2	7.1	10.7	100.0
Total	45.5	31.1	17.1	6.3	100.0

* See Appendix Table 40 for number of churches reporting under each type.

Forty-five per cent. of all churches have "compact" parishes, that is to say, parishes in which more than 75 per cent. of the members live within a mile of the church building. The rest are dispersed

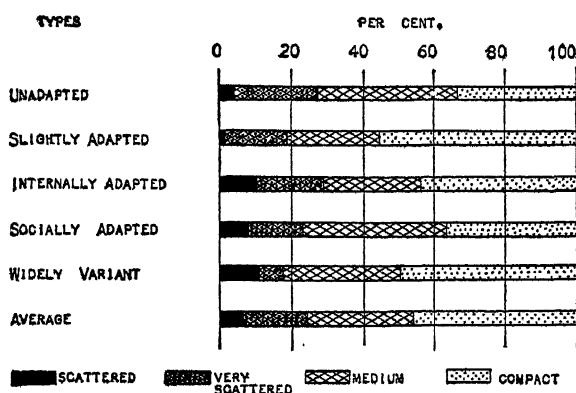


CHART L

Per Cent. Distribution of Parishes According to Distance in Each Type.

⁸ Appendix Tables 40-42.

as shown in Table LVII.⁹ The ranking of the major types with respect to the proportion of compact parishes is (1) slightly adapted, (2) internally adapted, (3) socially adapted, and (4) unadapted.

Centrally located churches naturally have far fewer compact parishes than residential ones.

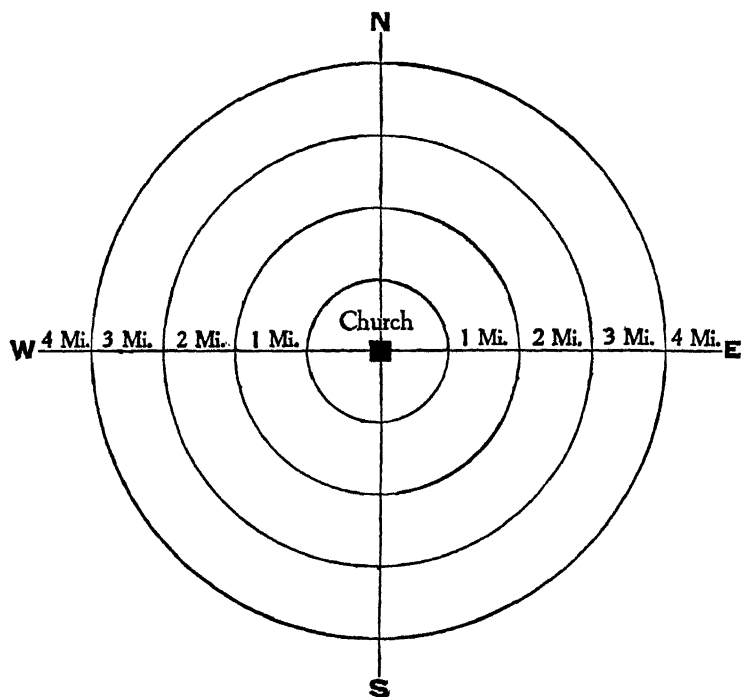


CHART LI

Diagram for Calculating Distance and Direction of Members' Homes from Church Building.

TENDENCY TOWARD LOPSIDED PARISHES

Another factor must be reckoned with before one can begin to understand the environmental significance of these facts. Even when the majority of the members live near the church they are

⁹ It is recognized, of course, that a mile radius from a given point might take in most of the area and population of a small and compact city, while it would cover very little of either in a large and roomy city. Of course, too, there should ultimately be a sliding scale for measuring dispersion of members in various sizes of cities. Since, however, the sample of churches whose parishes were studied is well distributed among cities of various sizes and in all parts of such cities, it is assumed that the arbitrary definition chosen will serve sufficiently to differentiate the tendencies of the types.

rarely distributed evenly. They rather tend to scatter out in sectors in one or two directions.

In order to compare churches on this point, the following scheme for expressing the differences in the directional distribution of members was devised. The parish maps of 154 churches were copied and the per cent. of members living in the four sectors corresponding to the directions North, South, East and West, was calculated by means of a figure shown on Chart LI. The cases were then thrown

TABLE LVIII—RANGE OF DIRECTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH MEMBERS USED IN DEFINING TYPES OF PARISHES

Type of Parish	A <i>Per Cent. of Members Living Within One- Quarter of the Parish Area</i>		B <i>Per Cent. of Members Living Within One- Half of the Parish Area</i>	
	<i>Least Populous</i>	<i>Most Populous</i>	<i>Least Populous</i>	<i>Most Populous</i>
Balanced	17 or more	34 or less	40 or more	60 or less
Unbalanced	10-16	35-42	26-39	61-74
Very unbalanced.	9 or less	43 or more	25 or less	75 or more

into three groups of approximately equal size, consisting of (1) those with the most nearly equal distribution on all sides of the church building, (2) those with the least equal distribution, and (3) those

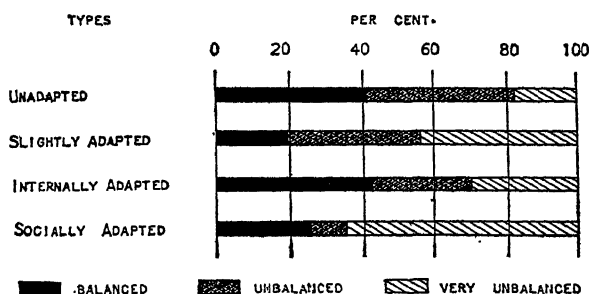


CHART LII

Per Cent. Distribution of Parishes According to Direction in Four Major Types.

falling between. The range of variation between the least fully occupied quadrant and the most fully occupied was calculated for each group, with results shown in Table LVIII.

It will be observed that a "balanced" parish has been interpreted generously as permitting a population running from as low as one-sixth to as high as one-third of its members to live in a single quadrant—this being the range of variation exhibited by the most symmetrical third of the parishes studied. On this basis the two-thirds which are still more one-sided must be called "unbalanced" or "very unbalanced." The second part of the Table (Section B) was arrived at by adding the per cent. of members living in the next least populous and next most populous quadrants to that already calculated for a single quadrant in Section A. The result thus shows the degree of balance or unbalance in a parish distribution of members in terms of two quadrants—not necessarily adjacent—covering half the area of a circle including the total parish. In the very unbalanced parish, for example, 75 per cent. or more of a church's constituents will be found in half of the area surrounding it and not more than 25 per cent. in the other half. The distribution of the types of churches as represented by the sample according to types of parishes as thus defined in terms of direction, is shown in Table LIX.¹⁰

TABLE LIX—TYPES OF CHURCHES DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO "DIRECTIONAL" TYPES OF PARISHES*

A—As Defined by the Per Cent. of Members Living in the Least Populous and Most Populous Quarters of the Parish Area

Type of Parish	Unadapted	Per Cent. Distribution			All Types
		Slightly Adapted	Internally Adapted	Socially Adapted	
Balanced	40.9	19.6	42.9	25.0	33.1
Unbalanced	40.9	36.9	26.5	10.0	31.8
Very unbalanced ..	18.2	43.5	30.6	65.0	35.1

B—As Defined by the Per Cent. of Members Living in the Least Populous and Most Populous Halves of the Parish Area

Balanced	45.5	23.9	46.9	20.0	37.0
Unbalanced	40.9	41.3	22.5	30.0	33.1
Very unbalanced ..	13.6	34.8	30.6	50.0	29.9

* See Appendix Tables 43 and 44 for number of churches reporting under each type.

It is of still further significance that in about one-seventh of the cases studied the largest number of members were located in opposite quadrants. Thus the parish took an hour-glass shape. This sometimes reveals physical barriers, but generally a definite avoidance of parts of contiguous areas as undesirable or untenable for church work, and the habitual seeking of members in opposite directions. Thus a great Minneapolis church, located at the edge of the business section, reaches inward to the people of the large apart-

¹⁰ For a more intensive study of lopsided parishes using a similar method for a single city, see the author's *St. Louis Church Survey*, p. 242.

ment hotels and outward to the polite residential section, but keeps clear of the Swedes on one side and the Jews on the other. It has practically no dealings with people in two of the four directions from the church as center.

In brief, even when the membership of a church occupies a contiguous area it rarely occupies it evenly. The Protestant genius is to pick and choose a church's field minutely and to direct all its developments according to the instincts of affinity and repulsion. It operates selectively rather than geographically. Even when it reflects a local environment it rarely reflects it exactly or totally.

SUMMARY

The combined influence of environmental and geographical factors operates as among the various types somewhat as follows:

The unadapted churches have the slightest tendency toward localized membership, though this tendency is somewhat more frequent in the residential churches of the type than in the centrally located ones. Their constituencies are often remote, but rather tend to come from all directions.

The slightly adapted churches are most frequently residential and show considerable tendency toward compact parishes. They are, however, most lopsided of all in the distribution of their parishes.

The internally adapted churches are about evenly divided between residential and central location and have the highest proportion of scattered and very scattered parishes. They have, however, a higher rate of normally balanced parishes drawing constituents from all directions as well as from long distances.

The socially adapted type, whether central or residential, has the smallest portion of compact parishes. This seems strange in view of the peculiar genius of the type, which ordinarily identifies itself with some particular neighborhood or class of people.

But the genuinely environmental character of this type is revealed by the study of the directional distribution of its members. Sixty-five per cent. of all socially adapted churches have very unbalanced parishes. That is to say, that 75 per cent. or more of the people live in one direction from the church building. The explanation of this phenomenon is scarcely open to question. Such churches are frequently old downtown enterprises largely abandoned by their former constituents. The poor population, foreign, Negro or rural, is apt to locate in a solid colony occupying a sector abutting on the old downtown business section. This explains the original lopsidedness of the parish. Later, as the foreign elements move

farther into the city, they follow definite paths of dispersion away from their original seats. The socially adapted church identifies itself with their fortunes and thus reflects in its exaggerated degree the one-sided parish development.

RANK BY TYPES, BY DISTANCE AND DIRECTION

If the major types be compared as to distribution of members by distance and direction, as shown in the two preceding paragraphs, the following differences appear:

<i>Types</i>	<i>Rank in Average Degree of Compactness</i>	<i>Rank in Average Degree of Balance</i>
Slightly adapted	1	4
Internally adapted	2	1
Unadapted	3	2
Socially adapted	4	3

It will be observed that the divergence of the two tendencies is greatest in the case of the slightly adapted type, which ranks first in compactness but last in balance.

DEGREE OF OCCUPANCY

Even after the area covered by the distribution of church membership has been carefully defined, the question of completeness of occupancy of any given area still remains. This question takes two forms; the one absolute, the second comparative. In other words, one must consider how large the church membership and constituency is relative to population, or at least to population available to Protestant influence; one must also consider how large it is relative to other and possibly rival churches.

There was no statistical investigation on this point, but the issue is worth while formulating in the light of geographic data for the parish. Of course the membership must bear some significant ratio to the population in order to constitute the church a local force. It is useless to call upon a church of only two or three hundred members to "adapt itself" to a city neighborhood of 50,000 people, even if all the members living within the area should agree to do so. There are too few compared with the total population to be able to do so in any important sense.

On this point Prof. W. L. Bailey writes of Chicago:

"But within a given area and among any given portion of the city's people the number of homes or individuals related to the church was insignificant, and still so relatively if all the Protestant churches well within it were taken into account. For the Protestant churches tend strongly to appear in clusters at certain points and

LOCAL ENVIRONMENT AND CHURCH TYPES 259

thus to have their parishes a great deal in common. The number of people in the above artificial area of say 3-4 sq. miles would be about 75,000 in the average district in Chicago. The average Protestant church membership in Chicago is about 500, and in very few cases above 1,000. With a very liberal provision of denominational plants in the area, the number of persons attached to the churches by even so loose and non-vital a tie as formal membership is very small. The district is not really a parish but might rather be called in a sense a 'sphere of interest.'"

Churches studied in certain cities intensively surveyed throw light upon the problem of comparative occupancy. Thus the membership of the First Congregational and Trinity Methodist Episcopal churches in Springfield, Mass. (a city of 130,000), covers the entire city. The former, located in the heart of the city, has the third largest membership in the South-side residential district in which there are seven local churches. In all, in six out of the eleven districts of the city, its membership constitutes one of the major religious groups resident within the district. It is thus far more localized, as well as more centralized, than many of the smaller churches. A big church, in other words, may fill up the entire area of a moderate-sized city fuller than the small church can fill even its contiguous neighborhood.

DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF SUBSIDIARY ORGANIZATIONS

Again, the various functional services performed by subsidiary organizations within the church may show a distribution of constituents different from that of the church membership, thereby complicating the problem of adaptation. Thus, the Kingshighway Christian Church in St. Louis has a parish greatly distorted in a southeasterly direction. The Sunday-school distribution is more evenly balanced than that of the church membership, reflecting the well-known fact that children are easily gathered from the neighborhood and from homes not connected with the church. Curiously, while the Young People's Society shows the most exaggerated one-sidedness compared with church membership, the membership of the Ladies' Aid Society is distributed most symmetrically, while that of the Boy Scouts again is strongest in a different direction.

In 1919 the First Baptist Church of Rochester, N. Y., had the largest group of its members (40 per cent.) to the southeast of its site, from which direction it drew seven out of eleven deacons, eight out of twelve trustees and 74 per cent. of its financial support; but 48 per cent. of the girls and boys of its Sunday school came from a single sector to the southwest! In other words, differ-

ent aspects of the work of a church appeal to different constituencies which may occupy very different sectors of the parish field.

A new conception of the meaning of adaptation to locality is thus demanded. To be adequate, adaptation must be carried throughout the work of the church and must particularly apply to subsidiary organizations, since it is their total activity that makes up the church's program. In other words, the whole matter is more complicated than ordinarily imagined and needs further study.

Summarizing the environmental findings, one concludes that all types of churches exist in all environments. There are some environmental affinities—some slight, others fairly significant—but not such as to govern the main categories of classification. Environmental influence, however, helps greatly to explain the differences between the statistical subtypes and to connect them with the practical variations found between churches with similar programs.

EXPLAINING THE INFLUENCE OF LOCAL ENVIRONMENT

The facts being determined, it is next necessary to ask three questions: (1) why the types do not more completely reflect immediate environment; (2) why each type has the slight environmental trend previously discovered; and (3) how the inadequacy of immediate environment to explain the types harmonizes with the fact that total urban environment is the dominant principle explaining adaptation in general.

Why Types Do Not Reflect Immediate Environment

It is popularly assumed not only that urban adaptation has gone forward a good deal faster than is actually the case, but that it must have become thoroughly localized. At least the implication is that it ought to be localized; that a church should be fitted to the needs of its particular and immediate neighborhood. The logic of the thought seems to be: if the church should be adapted to the city, why not also to its parts? If it is to change when it becomes urban, why ought it not to change to match each inner variation of the urban community?

The answer is to be found in the complex structure of the modern city, in consequence of which geographic position does not necessarily imply local relationship. The corner grocery or drugstore, for example, may appeal for local trade on the plea of neighborliness, but often it is but one of a chain of similar stores, with capital, control and even immediate management located far from the spot where the store is said to "be." When it comes to the central institutions of the city one may find almost no relationship to immediate en-

vironment. The site of a great railroad station is usually determined, not by the needs of the people who live nearest to it, but with reference to the convenience and patronage of those who live at a distance. Similarly a great department store does not often depend for its trade upon the people who live near to it. In general, the larger the city, the less desirable are the residential areas lying immediately around the main center. Moreover, population is being progressively crowded out of these areas by the expansion of business and industry. Yet the focal points of such cities become increasingly important and valuable exactly in proportion as near-by population dwindles. In other words, their location has reference to the entire population, and scarcely any relation to the immediate surrounding one.¹¹

ACCESSIBILITY VS. PROXIMITY

One may regard the modern city, then, as an attempt to combat the overcrowding of the center by facilities of rapid transit. Their use tends to equalize distant and near-by populations in the matter of accessibility to the most necessary central institutions. Thus, as has already been shown, the chief users of a utility are frequently able to live far from it. Such a triumph of accessibility over proximity generally removes the more prosperous elements of a city community to the remoter and less crowded sections, and thus creates the outlying wards and residential suburbs. Here the commuting population begins afresh to build social relationships based upon proximity, expressed in the neighborhood schools, churches and clubs. But even here the centralizing tendency does not leave them alone. In a generalized description of "The Growth of the City" Prof. Ernest W. Burgess cites Chicago as a case in point:

The relation of centralization to the other processes of city life may be roughly gauged by the fact that over half a million people daily enter and leave Chicago's "loop." More recently sub-business centers have grown up in outlying zones. These "satellite loops" do not, it seems, represent the "hoped-for" revival of the neighborhood, but rather a telescoping of several local communities into a larger economic unity. The Chicago of yesterday, an agglomeration of country towns and foreign colonies, is undergoing a process of reorganization into a centralized decentralized system of local communities coalescing into sub-business areas visibly or invisibly dominated by the central business district.¹²

Within these "centralized decentralized" areas people come relatively long distances to accessible institutions located at focal points. Prof. W. L. Bailey found most of the Chicago churches with widely

¹¹ The fact that in certain cities there is a partial return of population to the center as a place of living does not contradict this general principle.

¹² *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XVIII, p. 89.

scattered parishes thus located. Transit facilities are the clew to the situation. Centers and subcenters dominate the entire metropolitan area and fix the structure. Relatively little of vital functions or relations is left on a purely neighborhood basis, at least for adult populations, and what seems to be left is much less simple and localized than it appears.

In other words the attempt to classify city churches generally on the basis of their immediate environments proceeds from what is really the holdover of a rural idea. It takes a criterion applicable to a simple society and tries to apply it to a complex urban situation.

Environmental Trends of the Major Types

The above discussion has demonstrated the faultiness of an environmental classification of churches. Nevertheless, as previously indicated, each of the five major types may be said to have a slight environmental trend. What these trends are and how they are related to the facts of parish geography and of the general structure of the city will now be examined in more detail.

THE UNADAPTED CHURCH

While unadapted churches occur most frequently in the residential sections of cities, they show the smallest tendency toward localized memberships. As a group they cannot easily adapt their work to the characteristics of any given parish area because so often the homes of their members are not related to any church area.

For example, unadapted churches frequently have special racial or nationalistic constituencies or else they belong to unusual denominations or to denominations of rare occurrence in a given region. Such conditions mean that a church is not blessed with a near-by natural constituency out of which to build itself up. It must therefore hunt everywhere for the few dyed-in-the-wool adherents who naturally turn to it. People of one blood or language or of peculiar faith flock together to such churches with little reference to the location of their homes. For this reason few parishes of this type are lopsided. They draw from all quarters.

Again, a considerable fraction of unadapted churches are institutionally failures which have lapsed from their former prestige and are forced to accept a diminished type of organization. Very frequently the cause of their bad fortunes is some sudden movement of population which takes away an old constituency and brings in new neighbors with whom it is difficult to deal. It is characteristic of such churches to hang on desperately to their old members as they scatter throughout the city. They are virtually stranded

churches with little vital relationship to the immediate environment in which they are found. If they have any business to continue along their historic lines, they must obviously do so by cultivating a remote population rather than a near-by one.

Still again, if an unadapted church drawing its peculiar constituency from all quarters has strength to relocate—say by reason of the sale of a downtown property—where will it go? Its financial weakness generally precludes the purchase of another expensive downtown site. Nevertheless, drawing members from all quarters, it desires to keep some of the advantages of central accessibility though escaping central costs. It is likely to seek out a location in a near-in residential section. Its major constituency may, however, continue to be scattered and its relations to its new environment may be relatively slight.

Thus we have at least a partial explanation of why the considerable tendency of the unadapted church toward location in residential sections fails to tie it in any complete sense to the fortunes of its immediate vicinity or to cause its program of work to reflect its immediate environment. The very nature of the type makes it fallacious to attempt its interpretation through such environment.

THE SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCH

This type shows the next greatest tendency to location in residential districts. It also shows the largest percentage of churches with compact and medium-compact parishes both in its central and in its residential locations. Recalling the major characteristics of the type, one expects only a slight deviation from the rural prototype. Its churches have adapted themselves only a little. Probably, therefore, the residential churches of this type may to a considerable degree be interpreted by their environment. Their genius is really localized in the original sense. They tend to be parochial and, so far as the city will let them, to reflect their neighborhoods.

At the same time, it is not the total environment which is thus reflected. No type has so many unbalanced and very unbalanced parishes and so few with normal distribution of constituency. The probable reason is that so many of its churches lie in clusters adjacent to minor centers or along axial streets. The overlapping parishes of the clustered churches tend to spread out in sectors away from such focal points or limitations. They are without strength to reach over such artificial boundaries or to draw from wide fields. In the location of elementary schools or neighborhood parks, city planning authorities lay down the principle that their users must not be asked to cross a broad street devoted to heavy traffic. Simi-

larly, as a family institution largely limited to serving the needs of women and children, the slightly adapted church tends to be confined between major streets.

These considerations harmonize the fact of the compact character of its parishes with the fact that they are, at the same time, characteristically lopsided.

The centrally located churches of this type, as judged by the field surveyors, were more strategically located than those of any other; that is to say, they appeared to be accessible to non-local attendants.¹³ This tendency contrasts with that of the unadapted type which, while needing to be central in order to accommodate its scattered constituency, is generally too weak to afford a central site. The probable explanation is that the limited area of the average small city, in which the unadapted type is most frequent,¹⁴ makes it still possible for typical "family" churches to survive at the center with little modification of program and at the same time with slight relation to the immediate vicinity. Under some such conditions a minority of the churches of the slightly adapted type maintain their very scattered parishes.

On the whole, however, the slightly adapted churches more than those of any other type, draw members from near by. This seems like a definite environmental trend; yet 44 per cent. of them are centrally located while 56 per cent. are residential. This division between the major environments makes it impossible to apply the current classification. As a type they are neither central nor residential, but sometimes one and sometimes the other.

THE INTERNALLY ADAPTED CHURCH

The internally adapted type is about equally divided between residential and central locations. Its relation to environment is as follows: It has the highest proportion of scattered and very scattered parishes, but at the same time has also the highest proportion of normally balanced parishes with respect to directional distribution of members. Thus it draws members from long distances but from all quarters.

In location the central churches of the type appear to be least strategic.¹⁵ They show a high proportion of cases of churches with dual constituencies—one local, the other coming from a distance. It would naturally be expected that a downtown church disadvantageously located would attempt to overcome the disadvantage by holding forth the attractions of a novel and varied program. When

¹³ Appendix Table 38b.

¹⁴ Appendix Table 46.

¹⁵ Appendix Table 38b.

it has two constituencies to please it must almost inevitably strive for unusual variety. Such considerations help to explain the environmental characteristics of the type.

But almost one-half of the sample of internally adapted churches is not centrally located. That so high a proportion is found in residential locations is congruous with the fact that churches of this type have moved more frequently than any other except the unadapted. Churches generally move in order to escape undesirable conditions, the most frequent of which is the dwindling of a local constituency. Naturally they relocate nearer to their members. This would tend to give them both a higher proportion of residential churches and also a larger proportion of compact parishes, although the type as a whole has the smallest proportion. But residential location and compact parishes constitute no evidence that the migrating churches sought intimate environmental adaptations on their new sites. What they were seeking was strategic location in exchange for former locations which had become non-strategic.¹⁶ But this is very different from a church's settling down to identify itself with a highly localized neighborhood. To characterize, therefore, even the residential churches of the internally adapted type in terms of immediate environment is certainly fallacious.

THE SOCIALLY ADAPTED CHURCH

While, on the face of it, this type is a confessed attempt to match a religious program to the needs of the people of its immediate environment, and while it often carries to great length its practical identification with the neighborhood fortunes, it actually shows a very small proportion of compact or medium-compact parishes and a more than average proportion of scattered and very scattered ones. In this respect there is little difference between its central and residential churches except that the former naturally have more extremely scattered memberships.

The probable explanation is that the socially adapted church is not very adequately judged by location of the homes of its members. It is often built upon the historic foundations of the "family church" which, as such, has failed. The original members are widely dispersed, though some of them continue their connections with the church in its new venture. The alien groups for whom the community work of such a church is primarily carried on are often not of Protestant stock and are not readily brought into full membership. Under these circumstances the bulk of the work may be highly localized while membership is scattered.

¹⁶ See p. 257. For an extensive study of the facts and motives of migrating churches, see the author's *St. Louis Church Survey*, pp. 61 f.

Few of such churches could man their activities or finance themselves without the leadership and support of these holdover members. With such origins, a goodly number of socially adapted churches have built up such dual constituencies, one local, the other consisting of old elements coming from a distance. The combination of these two elements enters successfully into the work of the church next illustrated.

Case XXX—Subtype D III:

Between the original central business section of a northwestern city and the extensive grounds of the state capitol was once a desirable residential district in which many central churches clustered. With the expansion of business, it has now become an area of depreciated property and handicapped human fortunes. While the cities of the Northwest lack the overwhelming foreign populations of the eastern seaboard, their poorer districts contrive to gather most motley elements. In this case they include the poorer types of Irish and Swedes, with considerable numbers of Italians, Hebrews and some Negroes, who now occupy this once aristocratic quarter.

Here stood the old Central Church of the Methodist Episcopal denomination, and here it still stands with the aid of its denominational mission board and the city's Community Chest, which share in its financial support.

The story of the transformation of this declining church of the family type into a fully adapted social ministry is a commentary upon the broad strategy of the Methodist Centenary movement. Its central achievement was that it enabled the church to minister to a definite parish neighborhood from which the supporting elements had largely moved away. The church still has a thousand members, scattered widely, but the pastor says frankly that what he wants most from the distant ones is that they help to pay the bills. The church primarily exists for and proposes to build itself up out of the people of the immediate vicinity.

A careful inventory has been taken of the sound elements of present population. First, there are young professional and business people, frequently unmarried. They are well educated and in every way promising, though their present income is small and they have to live in inexpensive surroundings. Secondly, there are stranded families of culture and good stock, many of them clinging to their depreciated property. Among them are many widows. Then there are incoming rural elements. The farmer in the Northwest has never paid carfare and he never proposes to. When, therefore, he moves to the city, he very frequently establishes himself within walking distance of the business center and puts up with poor living accommodations that come within his scale of expenditure. All these classes are promising materials for the church except from the financial standpoint.

The present service of the church is designed first of all to mold these diverse elements into a fellowship by creating a community consciousness. There is a weekly community evening, including spirited community singing, moving-pictures and a social hour. Transients coming into the neighborhood are helped to find homes through a rooming-house bureau. There are classes in industrial and craft work. The church systematically cooperates with the Juvenile Court. The Goodwill Industries and day nursery are located immediately across the street and the church is closely associated with their work. Americanization classes are maintained. Its active daily vacation Bible school in a recent period enrolled eighty Italians and ninety Jewish children. Athletics are carefully organized and the church actively participates in an interchurch athletic league. All this is in addition to the work of a well-organized traditional family church.

The staff consists of a pastor, an assistant pastor, a director of religious education and a visitor, and the operating budget approximates \$12,000. This is apart from the workers and finances of the Goodwill Industries.

The church occupies a somewhat commodious but old-fashioned building of thirty-four rooms. They are, however, crude and in many respects unsuitable for its expanded program. Some of the crafts work was found in basement rooms without outside windows. Fortunately a spacious lot adjoins the building and the church lives in hope of securing a specially designed community building with further aid of denominational funds.

This is an excellent example of coöperation between a church that, in spite of its weakened condition, has residual ability and leadership of its own and socially minded forces both within and outside of the city. Together they are effectively meeting a changing urban situation by a clear-cut policy and suitably adapted program; but the scattered membership does not truly suggest the highly localized stress of the church's work.

It thus comes to pass that the type theoretically most nearly definable in terms of adaptation to immediate locality frequently turns out to have the most complex working relations with the city at large. Its characterization through local environment is significant, but fails to tell the whole truth.

Another example of the failure of local adaptation to tell the whole truth about a socially adapted church is Case XXXI. The reason in this case is that a church may enter into the problems of special groups or populations by attaching itself to the institutions of their organized life—which are themselves non-localized—in addition to dealing with them in their immediate environments.

Case XXXI—Subtype E II:

This church, occupying at present two ordinary frame dwelling-houses, is located in the boarding-house and industrial neighborhood between the main retail business center of the city and the railroad yards and depots. A representative of the Methodist Episcopal board of missions who came to study it complained, "But this doesn't look like a slum district." It is not; it is, however, a district in which industrial labor congregates, the one in which the Central Labor Temple is located. The district was definitely chosen for this reason, though the work of the church is also highly localized in an area within a half-mile radius of its plant.

The church has for its historic background a Methodist mission previously operating in that district. Its present phase of work and constituency is, however, essentially new, the product of the vision and industry of the present pastor.

It is carrying on a seven-day program penetrated throughout by the religious spirit, but one in which religious services of the conventional sort are secondary as to time and interest. Besides a Sunday school and general Young People's Society, the most characteristic feature of the work is a series of group organizations, a large number of which are developed as fraternities, with special rituals. There is also a well-equipped clinic and a playground for group games on a vacant lot on which the church expects to build, as well as a second playground for small children. The church has made a strong contact with organized labor and is conducting

a "labor college" under the endorsement of the Central Labor Council.

The staff includes a pastor, assistant pastor, nurse, deaconess, and playground director, together with part-time workers attached to various clubs.

The present total attendance upon all activities is about 1,800 per week, 80 per cent. of whom at least are estimated to come from within half a mile of the church. The field allocated to the church as a Methodist parish by its denomination is somewhat larger than the area chosen by the church itself for intensive cultivation.

The two primary objectives of the church under its present administration are to mold the neighborhood feeling and community life under Christian impulse out of the diverse elements of the immediate vicinity, and to maintain a contact with organized labor in this, its city-wide, center. The pastor's influence is very much broader than this "Church of All Nations," and his ability to make influential contacts, especially in the industrial field, is due to his larger relationships and experience. He is much thought of as a speaker on industrial relationships throughout the state.

The enterprise is hard to characterize, because social adaptation may be very much more than geographical localization. By environment it is related to a transient residential section adjoining a central business and transportation section of a great city. On the one hand, it is doing a localized community work under strong Christian impulse in connection with a small church enterprise, but it is also seeking to exercise a city-wide influence in the industrial realm through its proximity to the central institutions of organized labor. It is a unique and inspiring piece of Christian work, which can be greatly improved technically and probably increased greatly in size when it secures a new and specially adapted plant.

SUMMARY

To summarize the environmental evidence: adaptation is to the city as a whole, as well as, and often more than, to any of its geographical divisions. There are great central metropolitan institutions performing general functions; and, at the other extreme, local institutions performing neighborhood functions. There are many degrees and shades of adaptation between the two extremes. All these phases of adaptation, both the extreme and the mixed, should be expected in connection with the evolution of the city church. They afford many varieties and incomplete results. All progressive churches show adaptation, but some in one way and some in another. The clew of local environment is, therefore, not generally valid as a basis for church classification. Classification by the nature and content of program, on the contrary, has proved highly serviceable in unraveling the problems of general urban adaptation.

Chapter XIII

SPECIAL HEREDITIES AND LARGER ENVIRONMENT

At the outset of the study a sample was taken of 1,044 Protestant churches, of the recognized and well-established denominations that practically recognize one another as Protestant. This has been used as a basis for a discrimination of internal differences, by means of which a working classification by types has been reached. The sample was judged entirely adequate for this purpose. The next step involving the adequacy of the data was reached in the environmental discussions in Chapter XII. Here the data were more limited in amount and distinctly less adequate as a basis for generalization. The material was, however, used for what it was worth for determining trends, and yielded an intelligible version of the environmental relationships of city churches.

ADEQUACY OF THE DATA FOR FURTHER USE

The next step involving the adequacy of the data is now reached. There are four other pertinent approaches to the problem of the city church on which the study secured somewhat extensive information and which have already been included in the studies of the several types. With reference to these the utility of the classification by types may be still further checked and illustrated, provided the sample of 1,044 churches is fairly representative of the actual distribution by types of the Protestant city churches of America.

These approaches involve the attempt to determine in terms of the types (1) the racial characteristics of American city churches and (2) their denominational characteristics; also (3) their general characteristics as affected by different sizes of cities and (4) by geographical regions.

Thus in the sample of churches studied, certain types were found to contain an exceptional proportion of churches of foreign origin. Can one now turn the evidence around and say that in the United States churches of foreign origins as a group have affinities with such and such types? The same question may be asked of denominations. If the sample shows a disproportionate number of internally adapted Methodist Episcopal churches may one safely conclude that the

Methodist Episcopal denomination as a whole tends in that direction? Or, again, one may ask, Is the distribution of types for all cities of 100,000 population and over valid for those of a more limited size-range, say, from 100,000 to 250,000? And is the composite picture of city churches equally true for all sections, North, South, East and West?

The answer, as already indicated, depends first upon the competency of the sample to show how the city churches of the American Protestant denominations are distributed. If it can show this it be-

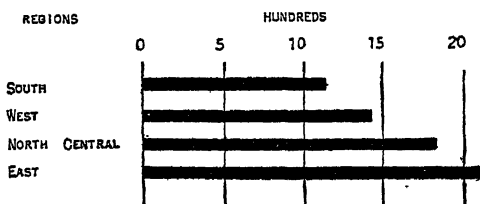


CHART LIII

Number of Native-born Per Protestant Church, by Regions.

comes a secondary question whether each of the above particular uses of the data which it is desired to make is also valid.

In answer to the first question, it is believed that the distribution by types in the 1,044 sample churches is a reasonable approximation to the actual distribution of American Protestant churches, except that the proportion of socially adapted churches is somewhat overstated.

The evidence for this assertion is briefly as follows: Some bias in the selection of the sample was suspected, growing primarily out of the sources from which schedules were secured.¹ It was recognized that in recommending "representative" churches for study each denomination would inevitably tend to put its best foot forward and to include more than a due proportion of interesting and successful cases.

Again, in securing new schedules there was chance of bias on the part of the field workers on account of the unequal accessibility of churches and the one-sidedness of local advisors on whom they had to depend for selection. Though they were urgently instructed to avoid favoritism in behalf of large and important churches, there was no absolute means of determining just how far their samples constituted a true cross-section of the churches of an entire city.

¹ See p. vi.

THE "CROSS-SECTIONAL" SAMPLE

An important check upon the degree and location of the results of such bias (if any existed) was at hand in the shape of 418 schedules from seven cities that were known to have been secured without bias in the attempt of the Interchurch World Movement to make a 100 per cent. church survey in the cities in question and in a subsequent intensive and complete survey of the Protestant churches of Springfield, Mass., by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. These surveys covered about 40 per cent. of the total number of churches in the cities studied, whereas the general sample was but 8 per cent. Since, then, the surveys of the 418 churches were five times as complete as the total sample, and since their genuine cross-sectional character as representing the churches of the respective cities has a high degree of certainty, the correspondence or non-correspondence of the distribution of the 418 churches with that of the 1,044 would go far to prove or disprove the validity of the latter as a fair sample.

The "cross-sectional" sample was unfortunately very greatly overweighted by the larger number of churches from the far western cities. Nearly one-half of the cases came from them, while the Mountain and Pacific Coast states include less than one-tenth of the population of the major cities of the nation. The "cross-sectional" schedules from cities of these states were therefore weighted proportionately to the urban population represented by them and the weighted cross-sectional sample compared with the total sample for distribution by types, with the results shown in Table LX.

TABLE LX—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF 1,044 CITY CHURCHES AND THE WEIGHTED PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF 418 "CROSS-SECTIONAL" CITY CHURCHES IN SEVEN CITIES, BY TYPES

<i>Churches</i>	<i>Unadapted</i>	<i>Slightly Adapted</i>	<i>Internally Adapted</i>	<i>Socially Adapted</i>	<i>Widely Variant</i>	<i>Total</i>
1,044 churches	24.2	34.5	18.8	10.5	12.0	100.0
418 churches	25.5	39.8	18.3	3.6	12.8	100.0

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE TWO SAMPLES

This method of comparison brings the two distributions remarkably close together except with respect to the slightly adapted and socially adapted types. The weighted cross-sectional sample shows the modal type (slightly adapted) still more strongly modal than in the general sample, but a wide discrepancy between the two results is still left in the case of the socially adapted.

Here, then, is located the only point at which there is a probability of the general sample being seriously affected by any bias accidentally involved in the method of securing it. A single type of church is primarily concerned, and this has been identified in the body of the study with the programs most highly developed in the direction of special and unusual ministries for the community, particularly for poor and handicapped neighborhoods. In their eagerness to find churches that were doing something distinctively and

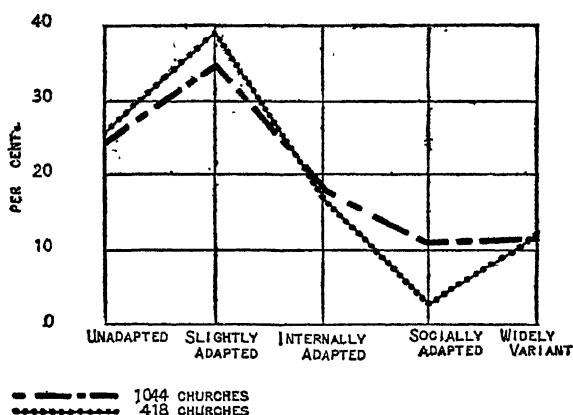


CHART LIV

Per Cent. Distribution of 1,044 City Churches and Weighted Per Cent. Distribution of 418 Cross-sectional Churches, by Types.

perhaps dramatically urban the field workers apparently overemphasized this group.²

In the light of this check of the general sample by the "cross-sectional" one, what can be said about the probable distribution of "all city churches" in the sense previously defined? One may say that the general sample varies from the actual facts by not more than the difference between its showing and that of the crude "cross-sectional" sample and that the actual facts are probably closely reflected by the showing of the weighted "cross-sectional" sample. This is fairly close to the general sample in four out of five types. In other words, the common trend of the per cent. distribution in the two samples may be confidently accepted as yielding approximations of the truth, while the one point of considerable difference probably both locates and shows the direction, cause and limits of the bias involved.

² For a more detailed statement of the evidence and method by which this result was reached, see Appendix B.

So much for the validity of the distribution of the total sample by types which will be directly relied upon in Chapter XIV. When partial samples are utilized for the various points of view enumerated at the beginning of this chapter, the validity of their distribution is modified in two ways: (1) statistically, by the varying number of cases available, and (2) logically, by uncertainty as to the precise location within the sample of the overemphasis on socially adapted churches.

Validity of the Data from Various Viewpoints

No comment, for example, is attempted upon the distribution by types of the twenty-three Negro churches included in the sample. The number of cases is not sufficient to establish trends. They show a large proportion of highly developed churches, a circumstance which is not congruous with the known facts of the traditional character of Negro religious life, and the existence of many fragmentary beginnings of Negro religious institutions in the northern cities from which the sample is chiefly drawn. The fifty-seven "foreign" churches, on the contrary, show statistical trends that are congruous with what is known about foreign-speaking Protestantism as established by this study in other connections, and elsewhere.³

DENOMINATIONAL DATA

The denominational trends revealed are also congruous with other known facts. From no one of them was a balanced sample secured that would enable one to say finally that the city churches of any given denomination in America, for example, the Baptist, are distributed as the 165 Baptist churches contained in the sample are. On the other hand, the 165 Baptist churches are treated as exhibiting some of the trends of the denomination with reference to the types.

The basis of this treatment is partly statistics and partly analogy. The general trends of the urban churches of the denominations are established by the United States Census of Religious Bodies. Appendix Table 4, based on the Census, shows, for example, that the denominations most numerous represented in the sample are, with one exception, those most widely distributed among large American cities. For only three denominations of white churches that occur in as many as half of the large American cities—and for only one regular Evangelical denomination—has the sample fewer than forty cases. For four of the six other denominations that have churches in from one-third to one-half of the large cities the sample is proportionately strong.

With these exceptions (and those of certain Negro denominations) the denominations with which the sample is weak are themselves weak in large

³ *United States Census of Religious Bodies*, Part I., pp. 13 f.

American cities. In other words, the distribution of churches by denominations reflects a very good *urban* sample.

DATA BY SIZE OF CITIES AND BY REGIONS

With respect to size of cities, the sample of churches was relatively greater than the number of churches in cities from 500,000 to 1,000,000 population, and relatively smaller than the number of churches in cities of more than 1,000,000. Within each size-group, however, the number of cases studied was ample to determine the more general tendencies with respect to types.

The same assurance may be had with respect to the regional sample. No effort was made to make it exactly proportionate to the number of churches North, South, East and West, and some sections were actually better represented than others. The number of cases for each section was, however, ample to determine trends in that section.

The influence of the factor of bias leading to a disproportionate number of "socially adapted" churches in the sample cannot be precisely located in the data last discussed. Whether it affects one size of city or region or one denomination more than another is not known. The probability is that they are all affected in some degree; and the fact that the limits of possible bias are rather narrow makes it legitimate to use the distribution of the sample as approximating that of the actual body of city churches, though one cannot prove exactly how close the approximation is.

With this reservation, the remainder of the chapter undertakes to show in terms of the types the influence upon city churches of special heredities like racial and denominational traits or traditions, and of larger environments such as the classes of cities and geographical sections to which they belong.

Distribution of Types of Churches by Nationality

Native rural stock is not the only population element that has built up American cities. Their growth until recently has been more largely due to foreign immigration than to any other external cause. On the other hand, relatively little of the foreign immigration has been Protestant in recent years; consequently the effect of the foreign church upon the development of urban types is not numerically considerable. Churches of foreign origin, however, constitute an appreciable element in the unadapted type.

Since the church of foreign antecedents does not start with American rural beginnings, it cannot be interpreted directly as a further evolution of the general national tendency. Foreign immigrants are, however, in many ways distinctly rural. They were

largely peasants in the Old World and their transplanted characteristics are rural and conservative.

These qualities often become exceedingly pronounced when a foreign group constitutes a solid colony within a city. Under these circumstances, a self-protective crust of clannishness is formed about it.

Thus, as in the case of the American church, the central problem of the foreign church is to urbanize a previously rural type, although continuity is not so exact in detail.

THE FOREIGN CHURCHES

In the study of the 1,044 churches no effort was made to get an exactly proportionate sample from the various nationalities represented. No clear-cut distinction can be made or ought to be attempted between churches of American and non-American origin and characteristics. Many churches of foreign origin have become thoroughly Americanized. As a sign of this complete naturalization some of them have dropped their original foreign label. Ecclesiastical organization is, however, conservative. Consequently not all have dropped such labels. Some that have dropped a foreign label have not fully abandoned foreign-language preaching nor come over entirely to the native point of view.

The only distinction that this study ventures to make, therefore, is to take fifty-seven churches apparently definitely fixed as a foreign group by reason of distinct self-designations. They represent the following nationalities and denominations: Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and German in branches or congregations of the Lutheran, Baptist or Methodist Episcopal denominations; also Italian, French, Hungarian, Slovak, Polish, Mexican, Chinese and Japanese churches of various denominations.⁴

This sample of fifty-seven churches is regarded as sufficient to demonstrate tendencies but not of course exact proportions.

Compared with the total group of city churches, the foreign churches show the following striking variations: They have many more unadapted churches, somewhat fewer slightly adapted ones and almost no internally adapted or socially adapted ones. Still more striking is the fact that they have two and one-half times as many churches of the widely variant type as the average of the sample. Examination shows indeed that with this erratic group it is often a case simply of a foreign church driven, on the one hand,

⁴ No Lutheran churches are included in the "foreign" list except those branches that continue to name themselves by a designation of nationality. The great body of German Lutherans, therefore, escape this classification though a high per cent. of them still keep up partial foreign-language preaching and maintain many nationality traits.

to attempt radical and highly exceptional adaptations by reason of the exigent needs of its constituents as strangers in a strange land; while, on the other hand, it lacks the anchorage to the typical American religious heritage that the other churches make their point of departure when they embark upon their process of evolution.

TABLE LXI—DISTRIBUTION OF 57 FOREIGN CHURCHES AND OF 1,044 CITY CHURCHES, BY TYPES

	<i>Unadapted</i>	<i>Slightly Adapted</i>	<i>Internally Adapted</i>	<i>Socially Adapted</i>	<i>Widely Variant</i>
1,044 city churches	24.2	34.5	18.8	10.5	12.0
57 foreign churches	42.1	21.0	1.8	3.5	31.6
Northern European	46.9	28.1	3.1	3.1	18.8
Southern and eastern European and other	36.0	12.0	0.0	4.0	48.0

In Table LXI the churches of northern European nationalities (in which Scandinavian predominate) are distinguished from those of southern and eastern European races (chiefly Italians and Slavs) and the handful of Oriental cases.

Table LXI brings out further interesting contrasts. As between the two foreign groups, it is the northern European that chiefly

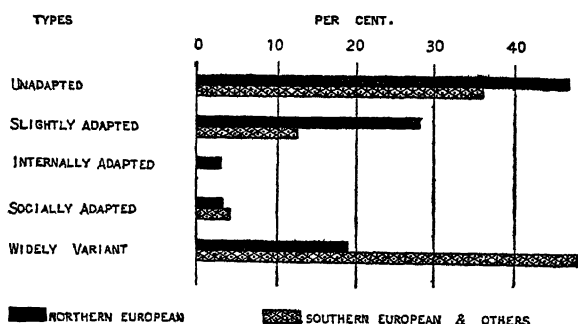


CHART LV

Per Cent. Distribution of Churches of Northern European Antecedents and of Southern European and Other Foreign Antecedents, by Types.

accounts for the excess of unadapted churches and the southern and eastern European that is responsible for the great excess of widely variant or erratic ones. The table also shows that the northern European is far ahead of the average foreign church in slightly adapted churches. This measures the closer approximation of northern Europeans to the American type. As a group they have been

longer in this country and their stock was closer to the dominant American stock to start with.

One must conclude, then, that one great reason why American cities have so many unadapted churches is because they have so many foreigners and that when a foreign church attempts development the conflict of its heredities with the special environmental difficulties in which foreign groups commonly find themselves in American cities tends to lead it in an erratic, rather than in a typical, direction.

Denominational Distribution of Types of Churches

The denominational distribution of the 1,044 churches studied was not closely proportionate to the occurrence of the denominations in the larger cities. Relatively speaking, the Congregational and Protestant Episcopal communions were overstudied, while the Lutheran sample was small. The sample for each of the denominational groups, however, was large enough and well enough distributed geographically to show their trend of development.⁵ Absolute evidence as to the degree to which any given denomination has evolved a given type of city church should not be looked for in the statistics.

The rank of each of the denominations for each major type of churches compared with the average for all denominations shows interesting variations as seen in Table LXII.

The slightly adapted church is the most frequent for each denomination (as it is for the total group) except for the Disciples and small "other" denominations which have more unadapted churches than any other sort,⁶ and the Methodist Episcopal which has an equal number of slightly adapted and internally adapted churches. The Protestant Episcopal denomination, however, almost exactly equals the Methodist Episcopal in the total percentage of churches of more than typical development. These two denominations are the most highly developed with respect to their city churches.

Other large tendencies appear from a ranking of the denominations by types, as follows:

(1) The Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational denominations on the whole keep closer to the average than the rest.

⁵ Appendix Table 45.

⁶ The denominations included in the "other" column and the number of churches of each that were studied are as follows: Advent Christian, 4; Seventh-Day Adventist, 1; Free Baptist, 1; Evangelical Association, 2; Friends, 4; African Methodist Episcopal, 7; Colored Methodist Episcopal, 1; Free Methodist, 3; Primitive Methodist, 2; Methodist Protestant, 2; African Methodist Episcopal Zion, 2; Cumberland Presbyterian, 1; United Presbyterian, 18; Associated Reformed Presbyterian, 1; Reformed, U. S., 8; Reformed in America, 2; Moravian, 1; Christian Reformed, 2; Church of the Nazarene, 2; Universalist, 8; Unitarian, 5; United Brethren, 4; Interdenominational and undenominational, 11.

TABLE LXII — RANK OF DENOMINATIONS, BY FREQUENCY OF TYPES *

<i>Unadapted</i>		<i>Slightly Adapted</i>		<i>Internally Adapted</i>		<i>Socially Adapted</i>		<i>Widely Variant</i>	
<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
All other	44.2	Lutheran	45.7	Methodist Episcopal	26.4	Protestant Episcopal	16.4	Protestant Episcopal	15.5
Disciples	34.8	Congregational	40.9	Disciples	23.9	Baptist	13.3	Baptist	14.5
Lutheran	34.8	Presbyterian	39.5	Protestant Episcopal	21.8	M. E., South	12.8	Methodist Episcopal	13.9
M. E., South	30.8	M. E. South	35.9	Congregational	20.9	Presbyterian	12.2	Presbyterian	13.3
Total	24.2	Baptist	34.6	Total	18.8	Methodist Episcopal	11.9	Total	12.0
Baptist	21.8	Total	34.5	Presbyterian	17.8	Total	10.5	Congregational	10.9
Methodist Episcopal	21.4	Protestant Episcopal	33.6	Baptist	15.8	Congregational	9.1	M. E., South	10.2
Congregational	18.2	All other	33.3	Lutheran	13.0	Disciples	4.3	Disciples	8.7
Presbyterian	17.2	Disciples	28.3	All other	11.6	All other	4.1	All other	6.8
Protestant Episcopal	12.7	Methodist Episcopal	26.4	M. E., South	10.3	Lutheran	2.2	Lutheran	4.3

* See Appendix Table 45 for number of churches reporting under each type.

(2) If the unadapted types alone be considered, the numerous small denominations grouped in the "other" column have a very much larger percentage of them and the Protestant Episcopal a very much smaller percentage.

(3) The Lutheran denomination has much the largest percentage of slightly adapted churches and the Methodist Episcopal much the smallest.

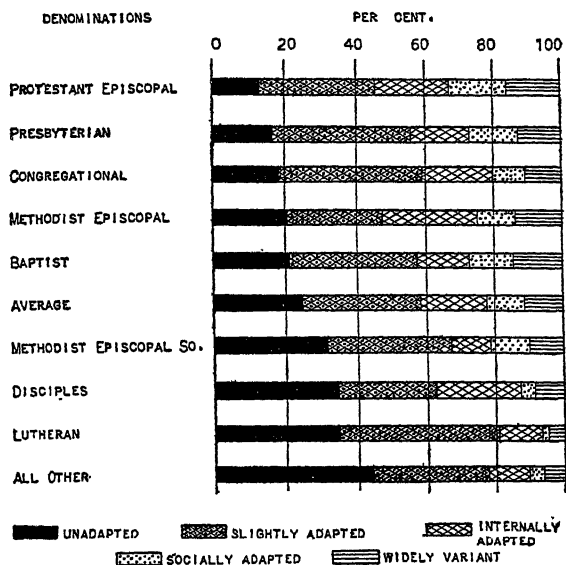


CHART LVI

Per Cent. Distribution of Types of Churches in Each Denomination.

(4) While the Methodist Episcopal has shown great superiority in the number of internally adapted churches, its sister denomination, the Methodist Episcopal, South, has the smallest number.

(5) While the Protestant Episcopal communion has the fewest unadapted and the most socially adapted churches, it is followed in this latter respect by the Baptist. On the other hand, the Lutheran, Disciples and smaller denominations have the largest proportion of unadapted churches.

(6) The distribution of the widely variant types follows in general the same denominational order as that of the socially adapted. It is most frequent with denominations that have the largest bulk of foreign work. Indeed, in this type the motive of social adaptation

largely finds erratic expression, because foreign church evolution is without the steady basis and support of American tradition.

(7) The Baptist denomination (the northern and southern branches are not separately enumerated), on the whole, lies close to the general average. In this it is the most typical American denomination in its urban development.

EXPLANATION OF DENOMINATIONAL VARIATIONS

Virtually every major aspect in which the church has been studied is involved in the denominational differences just discovered. The forces operating are very complex. Thus, for example, development of program has been found dependent upon size and strength of the average church. Diminutive denominations with feeble local units cannot be expected to show the full range of urban development. For this reason the minor denominations have an excess of unadapted churches.

Again, the rural tradition is much stronger in some denominations than in others. This makes for an excess of unadapted churches. Appendix Table 3 shows the Lutherans and Disciples standing near the top of the list in the per cent. of their total constituency that is found in the open country or smaller cities. This harmonizes with the fact that they also stand near the top for high per cent. of unadapted churches in cities.

That racial origins other than American tend to keep a denomination from a high average of church development has been amply shown.

Denominations that are regionally limited to sections where cities are few and relatively small, as in the South, are by virtue of that fact limited to a less than average development of progress.

Religious philosophy again keeps the peculiar sects from developing their urban churches to an average extent. Ultra-conservatism or unusual social radicalism operates in the same way.

Last of all, ecclesiastical policy also makes some difference. The more carefully wrought-out system of subsidiary organizations characteristic of the Protestant Episcopal Church probably has given that communion some advantage in a classification of churches based primarily upon activities. This is a sphere in which the genius of the Protestant Episcopal Church shines.

Similarly, the recent emphasis of the Methodist Episcopal Church upon an elaborate program is undoubtedly reflected in the standing of this denomination with respect to highly developed churches. It is partly due to a deliberate denominational policy.

Some denominations are thus seen to hold back the course of

urban church development, while others accelerate it. Those that combine foreign origins, a rural tradition, conservatism and doctrinal peculiarity constitute the left wing of the evolutionary process. In sharp contrast, those that are American, urban, liberal and adventurous or that have a prescribed program calling for elaborate church life, make up the right wing.

The Cities and Their Churches

The term "city" covers an enormous population range. This study has selected its sample churches from fifty-two of the sixty-eight cities of over 100,000 population in 1920 and from four other cities that have reached this population level since that date. Following the Census usage, it has regarded them as a single group. Together they constitute the American "large city;" yet New York, standing at the top of the list, is as large as all the thirty-eight that stand at the bottom and that constitute nearly three-fifths of the total group. New York is nearly thirty times as large as the median city of the large city group, while New York with its suburbs is thirty-two times as large as the median city with its suburbs. The difference is as great as that between the little town of 3,000 and the city of 100,000, communities that no one would think of speaking of in the same breath. The suburbs of New York have a population equaling nearly 85 per cent. of the entire population of the city of Chicago. Urbanization cannot possibly mean the same thing in cities occupying the two extremes of the large city class. The size of the city must have a certain determining influence upon its social development, including that of its churches.

That the data at hand for the purpose of the study of church types are competent to throw light upon the influence of the size of the city as related to its church problems, is accidental rather than intentional. No effort was made to distribute the churches investigated proportionately among cities according to size. It turns out, however, that the approximate correspondence shown in Table LXIII was accidentally reached.

TABLE LXIII—DISTRIBUTION OF ALL PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND OF 1,044 CHURCHES STUDIED, IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE

<i>Size of City, 1920</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution All Protestant Churches, 1916</i>	<i>1,044 Churches Studied *</i>	
100,000-250,000	36.4	31.9	n
250,000-500,000	19.9	18.0	ed
500,000-750,000	13.9	21.8	
750,000-1,000,000	6.6	11.1	ze.
1,000,000 and over	23.2	14.6	

* Two and six-tenths per cent. of the 1,044 churches were in cities of less than 100,000; nt;
ious

The table indicates that the sample was disproportionately great in cities of from 500,000 to 750,000 and from 750,000 to 1,000,000 and down

tionally small in the cities of over one million population, while approximating the average in cities of the other sizes.

While the sample for largest cities is smaller than could be desired, there is no reason to doubt that, with such a distribution, a fair statement of the church situation in cities of all sizes is possible. Such a statement is attempted in the following paragraphs.

SIZE OF CITIES AND DEGREE OF CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

As a general principle the larger the city the larger the per cent. of highly developed churches that will be found in it, while the smaller the city the more less developed churches it will have, as shown in Table LXIV.

TABLE LXIV—DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF CHURCHES IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE*

Population	Per Cent. Distribution					Total
	Unadapted	Slightly Adapted	Internally Adapted	Socially Adapted	Widely Variant	
under 100,000	37.0	44.5	11.1	....	7.4	100.0
100,000-250,000 ...	30.6	33.4	19.5	7.2	9.3	100.0
250,000-500,000 ...	13.3	39.9	23.9	9.6	13.3	100.0
500,000-750,000 ...	32.0	38.2	10.5	7.9	11.4	100.0
750,000-1,000,000 ..	28.5	28.5	17.2	12.9	12.9	100.0
1,000,000 and over.	6.6	27.6	25.7	23.0	17.1	100.0
pe Total	24.2	34.5	18.8	10.5	12.0	100.0

* See Appendix Table 47 for number of churches reporting under each type.

While cities of over three-quarters of a million population have a slightly larger percentage of internally adapted churches and a much larger percentage of socially adapted churches than those of any other two groups, it will be noted that the narrower size-groups of Table LXIV show no exact sequence running from the smaller to the larger such as would be necessary to prove their exact correspondence between complexity of church types and size of cities. Indeed, none should be expected; first, because, considering the nature of the data, over-exact correspondence would be unnatural. Nothing more than a trend is assumed and the trend is clear.

The chief irregularity relates to cities of from 500,000 to 750,000 population which show a smaller proportion of highly developed churches than the two preceding size-groups. But there are only six cities in this group of which two—San Francisco-Oakland and Los Angeles—were extensively studied. They represent one-third of the total. This is a far larger proportion of cities than were extensively surveyed in any other size-group. But these two cities have actually a higher proportion of fragmentary churches than smaller ones that have been equally well surveyed.⁷ The erratic showing of the cities of this size-group is therefore due to a statistical bias reflecting an actual fact.

Appendix Table 46.

Bias is demonstrably present in the case of the very largest cities. The samples for them are the least adequate and the limitations of the survey most pronounced. In other words, it was so impossible to reach any proper fraction of the thousands of churches in these cities that on the whole only outstanding ones were investigated. While undoubtedly the metropolitan cities have a large proportion of highly developed churches, the difference is probably not so great as the statistics show. These various cities have also the largest proportion of churches worshipping in halls, a situation that is elsewhere the mark of instability and lack of complete development. They also have a larger proportion of widely variant churches.

While, therefore, the tendency is undoubted, it is impossible to establish the exact degree of difference shown by the figures. What

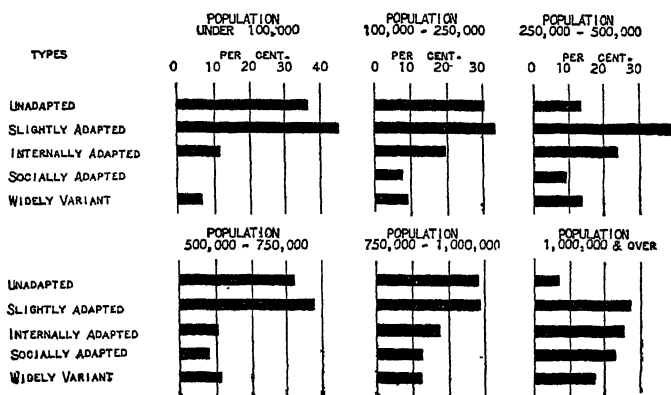


CHART LVII

Per Cent. Distribution of Types of Churches in Cities of Varying Size.

one can say is that large cities tend to have more highly developed churches and small cities tend to have more simply developed ones.

The fact that the proportion of erratic churches rises steadily with the size of the city is worth separate attention. It indicates perhaps the increased adventuresomeness of the metropolis; but also unquestionably the sort and kind of social pressure to which churches have to adapt themselves. If one considers types of churches as forms of such urban adaptation, it is a striking fact that one million people living in four cities of 250,000 population or in eight cities of 125,000 population will have fewer urbanized churches to serve them than if all lived in a single city of equal size. The needs of the lesser cities may not be so immediately exigent; but if the general conception of the urban version of religious organization is accepted as normal the lesser cities must be set down

as in some respects poorly served. More of their churches are in the city but not of it. And in some the beginnings of adaptation have scarcely been made.

Related Factors Varying with Size of City

From virtually complete data for Protestant churches in large cities in the 1916 Census of Religious Bodies, it is possible to show whether and how far certain other obviously related factors reflect the size of the city in the same way that the development of service program reflects it. Eleven such factors are summarized in Appendix Table 56. The general conclusions of the comparison are as follows:

(1) The larger the city the greater is the competitive strength of other faiths relative to Protestantism,⁸ while on the other hand, the smaller is the number of Protestant churches and their membership relative to the native-born population and to non-Protestant churches.⁹

(2) The larger the city the greater are the internal competition and stimulus resultant upon the larger number of denominations.¹⁰ It would not necessarily follow that more denominations would signify more competition if they were so unlike as not to influence one another directly. It happens, however, that the percentage of irregular denominations directly decreases with the size of the city, so that in the larger cities there are not only more denominations but they are more like one another, which is the same as saying they are more certain to enter into stimulating competition.¹¹

(3) The larger the city the larger is the average size of the church and Sunday school, and the greater the cost of current operation and the investment in permanent plant.¹²

(4) The larger the city the more churches it has that are without church edifices of their own and are compelled to worship in rented halls, and the more churches there are that have no parsonages.¹³

(5) The larger the city the heavier the debts are on church property and parsonages.

It has already been demonstrated¹⁴ on the basis of the 1,044 churches included in this study that the increase in these factors goes with and is presumably both cause and effect of the enlarged development of the church's service program. This conclusion is

⁸ Appendix Table 49.

⁹ Appendix Table 48.

¹⁰ Appendix Table 56.

¹¹ Appendix Table 52.

¹² Appendix Tables 53-56.

¹³ Appendix Table 57.

¹⁴ Chapter XI.

now confirmed by the Census study of over 12,000, or virtually 100 per cent., of all large city churches. The growth of the church's program is directly associated with growth all around.

Correspondence between the increased size of cities and the increased strength of churches, numerically and financially, is, however, not absolute; cities having from 100,000 to 250,000 population being slightly ahead of those from 250,000 to 500,000 population. The probable explanation is found in the study of environmental factors as related to size.¹⁵ It appears that the churches in cities of from 250,000 to 500,000 are following a policy contrary to the genius of cities of this size, and it may be that this policy is a factor in the relatively lower standing of their churches.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS AS RELATED TO SIZE

The distance that members of a church live from the church building naturally reflects in special degree the size of the city. The larger the city the greater the distance from center to circumference, and, on the other hand, the more necessary the provision of rapid transit. Just how these influences work is shown for the first time in the following paragraphs based on 222 cases.

Taking all the cities studied, nearly one-half of the churches (45.5 per cent.) are found to have compact parishes, that is to say, parishes with 75 per cent. or more of their members living within one mile of the church. But there is an interesting failure of correlation between the size of the city and the compactness of its parishes. The ranking of size groups in this respect is given in Table LXV.

TABLE LXV — PER CENT. OF COMPACT AND SCATTERED PARISHES IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE *

<i>Size of City</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Compact Parishes</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Scattered Parishes</i>
Under 250,000	52.9	18.6
250,000-500,000	32.4	54.1
500,000-1,000,000	33.3	31.4
Over 1,000,000	54.7	4.7

* See Appendix Table 40 for number of churches in each group.

This comparison shows the largest and the smallest of the cities under consideration standing close together with a little more than one-half of their parishes compact while the medium-size cities also stand close together with only one-third of their parishes compact. The city of from 250,000 to 500,000 people has most churches with widely dispersed constituencies.

¹⁵ See p. 288.

INTERPRETATION

The probable explanation of the above phenomenon is that in the city of fewer than 250,000 people it is still possible, in spite of the large measure of social differentiation and the rapid changes of population, for many members to live conveniently within one mile of the church building. On the other hand, the entire area of the city is so small that there will be few "scattered" parishes according to the arbitrary definition that they have less than 50 per cent. of their people within a mile. At the same time, such cities generally have many churches with widely dispersed memberships living in all directions from the church and not localized in single neighborhoods.¹⁶

When a city passes beyond a quarter of a million in population, it becomes less and less likely that a large proportion of members will live within a mile of the church. By virtue of its increased geographical size parishes tend to thin out. A blighted zone or district, previously residential but now increasingly given over to industry and tenement houses, almost always intrudes between the downtown center and the better-class residential sections. This zone is probably not yet so large as to be uncrossable. Religious strategy, however, being conservative, clings to the idea of numerous central churches when it has ceased to fit the facts of the growing city. It still needs central institutions but not so many of them as previously. Too many such churches struggle heroically to maintain themselves by bringing their adherents from long distances. Thus it is that in the cities of this size, the very scattered parish, having less than 25 per cent. of its members within one mile, is more frequent than in cities of any other size, reaching 16.2 per cent. of the total.

In cities of between 500,000 and 750,000 population, the impossibility of maintaining compact parishes of the old sort increases, although a portion of the churches still make the attempt. There is, therefore, a return to the localized or partly localized parish, made possible by the removal of central churches and the building up of minor centers adjacent to residential neighborhoods. Churches in cities of this size are, therefore, divided about equally between scattered and compact parishes.

When the city passes the one million population mark the old order has been almost obliterated. There is a very marked return to the localization of membership. Distances are so great, social differences between classes so fixed, transportation so expensive and time-consuming that most of the churches give up the idea of

¹⁶ Appendix Tables 43 and 44.

bringing adherents from long distances. This appears to be the fact in spite of rapid transit and private automobiles. It is in striking variance with popular imagination. One sees the vast outstanding central churches of such a city as New York or Chicago and forgets to realize that probably in no city do so few people, relative to the total number of churchgoers, attend central churches. The majority are geographically related to neighborhoods, and although actual social identification with a neighborhood is in many cases very slight, there is a more hopeful basis for some sort of general decentralization in the largest cities of all than in any other kind.¹⁷

PARISH GEOGRAPHY OF CENTRAL AND RESIDENTIAL CHURCHES

The characteristics just described may be traced further to their sources by a comparison between the centrally and residentially located churches.¹⁸ These characteristics are actually due most largely to the residential churches which constitute about 60 per cent. of the total and thus tend to dominate the result.

The variations between the central and residential churches are as follows. While in cities of all sizes centrally located churches naturally have much less compact parishes than the residential ones, the parish geography of the residentially located churches substantially agrees with that discovered for all churches. This is to say, they are most often compact in the largest cities and next in the smaller. Their exact agreement does not extend, however, to the cities in the middle-size groups.

The centrally located churches, on the other hand, have a tendency to compact parishes exactly corresponding to the increased size of cities. Thus, in the cases investigated, there were no centrally located churches with compact parishes in cities of less than 250,000. Here, it is obvious, central location generally means an effort at city-wide influence, which actually distributes membership at considerable distance from the center. With each successive size group the proportion of compact central parishes increases until it is two-fifths in cities of over 1,000,000 population. This means of course that many churches in such cities located at secondary centers do not attempt a city-wide ministry. Prof. W. L. Bailey writes with special reference to Chicago, "The church of the neighborhood on a relatively large scale is the successful church of the present under large city, and especially under metropolitan, conditions." The facts also correspond with the tendencies of the socially adapted and widely variant churches which are especially numerous

¹⁷ See p. 250.

¹⁸ Appendix Tables 41 and 42.

in cities of this size. Both of these types tend to adapt themselves closely to the local community, frequently to foreign colonies or needy neighborhoods of a particular type.

Considered from the standpoint of scattered parishes, the central and the residential churches agree in tendency. The central churches have very many more scattered parishes in cities of from 250,000 to 500,000 population, and almost as many in cities of from 500,000 to 1,000,000, thus confirming the diagnosis of the previous paragraph which argued that in these cities the church was still attempting to bring people from long distances when the size of the city had ceased to make such a policy profitable. This harmonizes with the fact just now demonstrated that it is the central churches that show most definitely the abandonment of this policy in cities of larger size.

The evidence is that parish geography thus is generally congruous with that relating to types of churches in cities of varying populations.

CORRELATION WITH GENERAL FACTORS OF CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Now it was discovered in the last section that it is just the cities of this size-group (250,000 to 500,000) that break with the regular order and stand below their natural rank in respect to the average size of church membership, of Sunday school and of budget and property valuation. Putting the two lines of evidence together, one may fairly contend that the environmental factors rather marvelously agree with the other factors of development. The church in cities of from 250,000 to 500,000 tends to have a membership too dispersed for efficiency. These cities have smaller and poorer churches than their size rank entitles them to. Is not the second fact a probable consequence of the first?

On the other hand, these same cities have more highly developed churches than would be expected from their size rank. May it not be the struggle of a very small church following an outworld policy that causes its advance in complexity of program? May not such a church be stimulated by its difficulties? This would be quite in line with the previous interpretation of complexity of program as frequently registering a response to various types of environmental pressure. The central churches, particularly in middle-sized cities, hug the delusion that the prestige of central location will make them successful, when as a matter of fact the factor of distance has come to outweigh prestige. When, consequently, they find themselves in difficulty, and especially when they discover their inability to hold

and serve their central constituents, they elaborate and adapt their programs in a search for new roads to success.

This explanation makes consistent the apparent exceptions to the rule that the larger cities tend to have the larger churches both in service programs and in all related factors.

DIRECTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS BY SIZE OF CITY

As shown in previous paragraphs, the mental picture that locates the church building of a city church in the middle of its parish is a very misleading one. City parishes strongly tend to be lopsided. Members disperse increasingly on one side or another. Normal variation was defined as allowing as few as one-sixth or as many as one-third of the members in a single quadrant measured from the church as a center. Out of 154 churches studied exactly on this point, 33.1 per cent. had normal parish distribution of members in the above sense, 31.8 per cent. unbalanced and 35.1 per cent. very unbalanced distribution.

The variations as between cities of different size-groups is shown in Table LXVI.

TABLE LXVI—BALANCED, UNBALANCED AND VERY UNBALANCED PARISHES IN CITIES OF VARYING SIZE*

<i>Size of City</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Per Cent. Distribution</i>	
		<i>Unbalanced</i>	<i>Very Unbalanced</i>
Under 250,000	39.6	28.3	32.1
250,000-500,000	35.8	32.1	32.1
500,000-1,000,000	18.2	34.1	47.7
Over 1,000,000	41.4	34.5	24.1
All cities	33.1	31.8	35.1

* See Appendix Table 43 for number of churches reporting in each group.

According to this showing, directional distribution of church membership does not follow any regular tendency reflecting the increased size of the city. Instead, parish distribution with respect to direction follows closely its course with respect to distance, except that in the latter respect, it is the city of from 250,000 to 500,000 population that has the most dispersed parishes; while with respect to direction, it is the city of from 500,000 to 1,000,000 that has the most unbalanced parishes. That is to say, the phenomena are analogous, but in the latter case the discriminatory forces involved work themselves out more gradually.¹⁹ Cities of above one million population return to a high per cent. of balanced parishes just as they do to a high per cent. of compact parishes.

¹⁹ It may of course be that physical barriers affect cities of one size-group more than they do those of others, and thus this enters into their asymmetrical parishes.

GENERALIZATION

The total significance of the size of cities with respect to the type of their churches and the degree of adaptation signified thereby, may be summarized somewhat as follows: Urbanization, both as general adaptation of church to city and in its special phases of program development, increases as cities grow larger. There are, however, exceptions to this tendency. Cities of from 250,000 to 500,000 population are irregular with respect both to development of program and to related size factors. This irregularity probably has been partly due to their retaining an outworn and unsuccessful policy as to membership distribution. There is thus registered a sort of hiatus between the smaller "large cities" and the really large ones. The former hesitate in development and stand "with reluctant feet" before stepping out into real metropolitan character.

The degree of local adaptation on the part of the churches seems to decrease with the size of the city until it reaches the group having populations of 500,000 or more. Then it increases again in churches in very large cities distinctly tending to have compact parishes.

These results amply justify breaking up the large-city group into its component size-groups as a means of the more accurate interpretation of the data. While all large cities make the same generic demands upon the church, its exact adaptation to its task is to be worked out through special policies fitting the different grades of urban communities. Subsequent studies will do well to carry on further investigation on this point.

Regional Distribution of Types of Churches

How far is the distribution of the major types equally characteristic of North, South, East and West?

Of course, since size of city makes the considerable difference that the last section shows, the regional distribution of types of churches will not be expected to correspond to that of the country as a whole.

No premeditated effort was made to secure balance in the distribution by types of the 1,044 churches studied as among the various sections of the country relative to their respective city populations. The sections differ greatly in this respect as shown by Table LXVII.

The northern sector is of course the urbanized area of the United States. Nearly 80 per cent. of all people living in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants live in this sector, in an area constituting only about 31 per cent. of the total area of the nation. Here are the three metropolitan cities whose combined population equals that of the twenty-two next largest cities having populations of between 250,000 and 1,000,000.

The two size-groups falling within these limits are distributed in about the same proportion among the sections. The north central section has

the largest proportion of urban people in cities of this size and the South the smallest. Cities of from 100,000 to 250,000 people are relatively more important in the Northeast, where they constitute the great group of smaller manufacturing cities depending upon and largely suburban to the great centers; and in the South, where they are the most characteristic size. Thus the Northeast excels both in the smallest and the largest of

TABLE LXVII—DISTRIBUTION OF LARGE CITIES AND THEIR POPULATIONS BY SIZE IN EACH REGION

Size of City	No. of Cities	Combined Population	Per Cent. Distribution by Sections			
			North-east (26 cities)	North-Central (19 cities)	South (15 cities)	West (8 cities)
1,000,000 and over ...	3	10,145,532	73.4	26.6	0	0
500,000 to 1,000,000 ..	9	6,223,769	29.6	41.2	11.8	17.4
250,000 to 500,000 ..	13	4,540,838	22.2	41.3	18.2	18.3
100,000 to 250,000 ..	43	6,519,187	37.7	27.1	28.5	6.7
Total	68	27,429,326	46.4	32.5	12.4	8.7

the large-city group, while the north central division has more cities of middle size.

It accidentally turns out that there is considerable correspondence between the distribution of Protestant churches by regions and the distribution of churches studied, as shown in Table LXVIII.

TABLE LXVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN CITIES OF 100,000 AND OVER AND DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND OF 1,044 CHURCHES STUDIED, BY REGIONS

Population and Churches	Northeast	Per Cent. by Region North Central	South	West
Population	46.4	32.5	12.4	8.7
Protestant churches	35.1	31.3	23.1	10.5
Churches studied	34.2	31.9	10.4	23.5

The explanation of this showing is as follows: Protestant churches are relatively more frequent in the South and West and relatively less frequent in the Northeast relative to total population, primarily because of the preponderance of foreign-born and consequently of non-Protestants in the last area.

If the percentage distribution of churches studied be compared with that of all Protestant churches, it will be seen that the Northeast and North Central cities are adequately represented in the 1,044 cases, the South decidedly under-represented, and the West greatly over-represented.

The discrepancy is not sufficient, however, to defeat an approximately correct sectional interpretation of urban church evolution. In all sections the sample was adequate to demonstrate the general tendencies of the churches therein although the distribution was better in some sections than others.

VARIATION IN TYPES

The following tendencies, therefore, probably reflect the facts somewhat closely.

(1) The Northeast corresponds most closely to the general average of the country in the distribution of its church types.

(2) The North Central has more internally adapted and many more socially adapted churches than the average. Church development has gone further here than in any other section.

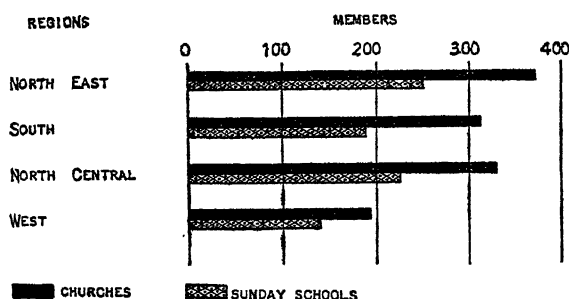


CHART LVIII

Average Membership of Protestant City Churches and Sunday Schools, by Regions.

(3) The South has more slightly adapted churches, an average number of unadapted and internally adapted ones and fewer socially adapted ones.

(4) The West has more unadapted and slightly adapted churches and far fewer of the more highly developed types. It has scarcely any of the socially adapted type.

These distinctions appear in the ranking of the sections according to types of churches in Table LXIX.

More refined distinctions among the sections begin to appear with the examination of the subtypes.²⁰

(1) Within the unadapted group the West has far the largest proportion of the smallest and narrowest kind of church. The South also has an excess of unadapted churches, but they are one stage above those of the West.

(2) Within the slightly adapted group are found variations in two directions: first, toward increasing range or novelty of program, secondly, toward an increasing number of activities without wider range. As between these alternatives the South takes the conservative tack and the North Central section the adventurous one. The Northeast is also adventurous to a lesser degree, while the West stays close to the average.

(3) Within the internally adapted group the Northeast and

TABLE LXIX—RANK OF GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, BY FREQUENCY OF CHURCHES
OF SPECIFIED TYPES

Rank	<i>Unadapted</i>		<i>Slightly Adapted</i>		<i>Internally Adapted</i>		<i>Socially Adapted</i>		<i>Widely Variant</i>	
	Region	Per Cent.	Region	Per Cent.	Region	Per Cent.	Region	Per Cent.	Region	Per Cent.
1	West	38.4	South	40.4	North Central.	25.2	North Central.	20.1	North Central.	13.2
2	Total	24.2	West	39.2	South	20.2	Total	10.5	West	12.2
3	Northeast	23.5	Northeast	37.0	Northeast	19.3	Northeast	8.7	Total	12.0
4	South	22.9	Total	34.5	Total	18.8	South	7.3	Northeast	11.5
5	North Central	15.0	North Central.	26.5	West	8.6	West	1.6	South	9.2

ONE THOUSAND CITY CHURCHES

South approximate the average, while the North Central section tends to an exceptional degree of elaboration and the West to less than an average degree.

(4) Within the socially adapted group the Northeast and West

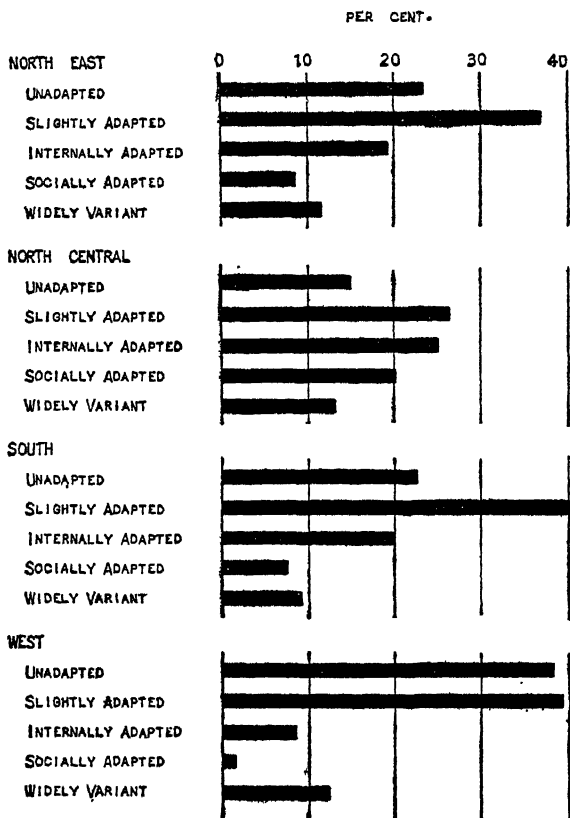


CHART LIX

Per Cent. Distribution of Types of Churches in Each Region.

agree in having more incompletely adapted churches, while the South has many more incompletely adapted ones, and the North Central section many more fully adapted ones.

GENERALIZATION

The Northeast is the section most representative of the national average. It is the oldest and most urban with the greatest variety

of cities. This makes it natural that it should have the most balanced distribution of churches. It has a slight tendency toward novelty and experimentation.

The South, on the other hand, has distinctly the narrowest range of church development. It does not start so low nor rise so high. It is characteristically conservative.

The North Central section shows two strong tendencies, one toward novelty and experimentation; the other toward a higher degree of development of its more complex church types.

The West has the least balanced church development. Only 10 per cent. of its churches have evolved beyond the typical stage, and they are generally the less complete phases of such higher development.

Thus, in degree of development of their church types, the North Central section stands first, the Northeast second, while the South is below and the West very much below the average.

AGREEMENT WITH OTHER REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

This regional result of the 1,044 samples of city churches may be compared with still more general characteristics of church life in the various regions of the United States as revealed by the Census of Religious Bodies and summarized in Appendix Table 57. It is to be remembered that the census showing is based upon practically a 100 per cent. sample. Its large agreement with the present study is therefore important.

The standing of the regions in degree of general development of their churches is revealed by the present study as generally the same as their development measured by the average size of church membership, Sunday-school enrollment, annual expenditures and value of property, except that the Northeastern and the North Central sections exchange places. The comparative rank of the regions (A) by degree of development measured by types and (B) by degree of development measured by average number of members per church and related factors, is as follows:

<i>Region</i>	<i>Rank</i>	
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
North Central	1	2
Northeast	2	1
South	3	3
West	4	4

Without attempting to pursue the explanation too far into the realms of sectional temperament as rooted in history and affected

by the general type of civilization (including the relative numerical importance of urban populations), one may conclude that probably the most influential general factor in creating regional difference is degree of competition. Competition is both external as between Protestantism and other faiths and internal as between the Protestant denominations.²¹

The north central section, with the highest degree of development of the more complex church types, has next to the largest church units both absolute (as measured by average size of church membership, Sunday-school enrollment, annual expenditures and value of property) and relative, as measured by the number of churches per thousand native-born population. Competition with other faiths is considerably less acute than in the northeastern section.

On the other hand, not only are there the largest number of Protestant denominations in the North Central section, but these denominations tend to represent a common tendency, with somewhat fewer irregular and sporadic developments. This generally high degree of competition, both external and internal, combined with—and perhaps to some degree causing—the tendency of Protestantism to organize itself into units of more than average size and strength, permits and probably tends to result in the higher complexity of organization and range of service program.

The Northeastern section has also a high development measured by complexity of church types, though not the highest in spite of its largest church units. This, the oldest section, naturally had the largest degree of historic conservatism to overcome. Here the churches have experienced extreme competition from non-Protestant faiths; but this has not resulted in as full a development of the Protestant service program as is found in the Middle West. There is a narrower range of Protestant denominations so that the stimulating influence of variety is less present. Again, a relatively larger proportion of the northeastern denominations are of the irregular sort, not belonging to the main line of Protestant development nor likely to influence greatly the more settled churches. The combination of these factors may explain why the oldest section, with the largest Protestant units, stands, nevertheless, in the second place in respect to general development.

The case of the South is simple. It has less than average development as measured by the types, coupled with small church units. It has little competition either of other faiths or of numerous Protestant denominations. Its temper is reputed to be conservative and its cities are small. Its comparatively slight development in city church types is thus only logical.

21. Appendix Tables 48-55.

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The West has the smallest degree of development measured by types of churches, coupled with the smallest church units in size and financial strength. It has less than average competition from other faiths because religion is weak all around, but any advantage which might accrue from this fact is frittered away by subdivisions of Protestantism and the largest number of unreported denominations, an excessive portion of which are of the irregular and unstandardized varieties. Of these, there are so many as to influence the standard denominations in the direction of erratic rather than of consistent programs.

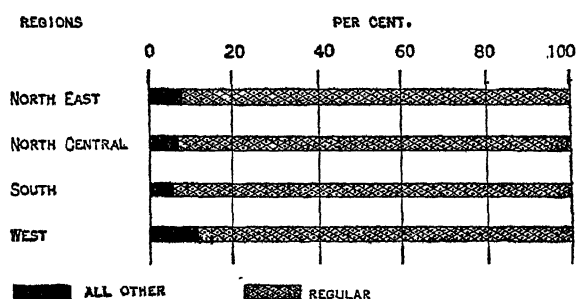


CHART LX

Proportion of "All Other" and Regular Protestant Churches in Total Protestant Churches of Each Region.

In terms of erratic or freakish development the West ranks first, the Northeast second, the North Central section third and the South last. This is demonstrated by three criteria in Table LXX.

TABLE LXX—PER CENT. OF CHURCHES WHICH HAVE SPECIFIED CHARACTERISTICS, BY REGIONS

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Region</i>			
	<i>North-east</i>	<i>North Central</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>West</i>
Churches of types widely variant in the direction of novelty	8.4	7.2	6.4	11.1
Rank	2	3	4	1
Churches of irregular denominations.	7.6	7.3	5.7	11.6
Rank	2	3	4	1
Churches worshipping in halls	17.5	8.4	7.1	9.8
Rank	1	3	4	2

While there is no inherent necessity why the local church of an exceptional and poorly established denomination should either show an erratic program or worship in a hall rather than in a church,

these three characteristics actually tend to be associated from region to region. Except that the Northeast outranks the West in proportion of churches worshiping in halls—a result partly attributable to high real estate values—the regions rank in exactly the same order on all three criteria.

The findings of the present study and of the census thus make a consistent story accurately corresponding to the general reputation of the various regions with respect to church life.

RATIO OF MALE TO FEMALE CHURCH MEMBERS

A minor point should be noted. The ratio of male members to female shows very little sectional variation. It is slightly smallest in the Northeast, where there are more women than men, and slightly largest in the West, where there are more men than women in the general population. The conclusion is, therefore, negative. The sex composition of the church is not a factor reflecting regional variations.

Chapter XIV

THE PROVISIONAL USE OF TRENDS AS NORMS

In general, there are three ways of determining what the church ought to be and to do.

(1) The first is the way of authority. The matter is either presumed to be settled by the ultimate religious authority recognized by the particular church, or by some subsequent or contemporary authority resident in the church itself. This may vary from the ex cathedra utterances of a Pope to a majority vote of an ecclesiastical assembly or even the administrative decisions of a competent official.

From this point of view the prescription for a good church is found in official manuals and denominational standards promulgated by authority of an entire communion, or by special commissions or boards.

(2) The second way of discovering a good church is by consensus of experts. A good illustration of a judgment arrived at in this way is found in the original "par standard" for rural churches used by the Town and Country studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. It was essentially a score-card covering thirty-three points, worked out and adopted by the Town and Country Committee of the Home Missions Council on the basis of the best wisdom of denominational experts in charge of rural church affairs. It was defined as "not an ideal, but as a measurable example of what the church may, in all reasonableness, expect to attain."

Nearer to the field of the present study is the standard for the City Church Plants developed by the Interchurch World Movement. This norm for church buildings and equipment was also based upon the consensus of experts, who rated the different items on a total scale of 1,000, distributed under special classifications according to the average judgment of 200 "competent judges in the field of religious education." Somewhat curiously, it assigned 17.5 per cent. of the total score to "community service facilities" to be used in the performance of functions that fewer than one-tenth of city churches covered by this study have at all and that a considerable number of people believe to be a misdirection of the energies of the church, if not a definite departure from the proper field of religion.

Evidently the church that these experts had in mind was not the actual city church as the present study has found it.

So long as precise knowledge is not available the consensus of experts is of course better than the individual guess, but it ought not to set itself up against demonstrated tendencies and should be slow to pronounce on points into which differences of conviction enter.

(3) The third way of arriving at a standard for the church is to observe and record the actual practices of representative groups of churches. Where the sample is large enough and known to be representative, any marked tendencies found may at least be regarded as provisional norms whose limitations and qualifications remain to be discovered.

It was by this method that the "new par standard" for Town and Country surveys of the Institute of Social and Religious Research was reached. This standard was based upon the combined practices of "the most successful town and country churches in America."

Graded, arranged and the results averaged, these most successful churches were found to have an average standing of 85.5 per cent. on a scale combining the practices of all of them. This was considerably more than twice the standing of the average rural church.¹

Now, obviously, any rural church may be accurately ranked relative to this objectively determined standard derived from the best group of such churches.

Whether it is the best way to reach a standard is another question. Since the average standing of the rural church is less than one-half that of the best group, it is clear that the practical chance that the churches below the average can ever attain the standard is very slight. The detailed studies of the rural church show, in fact, that it is utterly beyond their reach. If a denomination attempted to use this standard as a practical basis for the judging of churches, or for the distribution of funds, it might go very far astray.

The Norm Defined

THE AVERAGE AS A NORM

In contrast with this method of taking as a standard the most successful examples of a class and measuring *down* from them, the present study starts with the central tendency of the entire group of churches as expressed in the most frequent and characteristic type.

This is found in the slightly adapted group which furnishes over one-third of the 1,044 sample churches. Table II shows the distribution of the entire sample. Reasons were given in Chapter

¹ Morse and Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, p. 169.

XIII for believing that the distribution of the sample somewhat closely approximated the actual distribution of churches in large American cities except as to the socially adapted type. A generalized statement of the approximate frequencies of the several types and their relation to the most frequent type is shown in Table LXXI:

TABLE LXXI—APPROXIMATE PROPORTION OF CITY CHURCHES WHICH ARE OF A GIVEN TYPE

Type	<i>Approximate Proportion of Whole</i>	<i>Relative Frequency</i>
Slightly adapted	1/3	Most frequent
Unadapted	1/4	Less frequent
Internally adapted	1/5	Considerably less frequent
Widely variant	1/8	Very much less frequent
Socially adapted	Less than 1/10 }	

Statistics are accustomed to treat the most frequently occurring measure of objects or attributes as defining the typical or normal characteristics of the entire group. This is what statisticians mean when they use the terms "typical" or "normal." "The normal height of men is not affected by the presence of giants or dwarfs. After infancy has been passed, the normal age at death is the age at which more individuals die than at any other age. The wage of the typical street railway conductor is the wage paid to the largest number of individuals engaged in this line of employment. A clothier manufacturing ready-made garments will make the largest number of suits for the normal or typical man, decreasing the number as the measurements depart from those of the normal man."²

Now, in this sense the slightly adapted church is the typically adapted one. The unadapted church is inadequately adapted in the same sense that the unusually short man is undersized. The internally adapted church shows a non-typical scope of program, while the socially adapted is very non-typical—a sort of giant of a church with a skyscraper program. The relative proportions in which these different kinds of churches exist measure the amount and degree of departure of the extremes from the norm.

NORMS NOT UNCHANGING

In considering what use might be made of such a norm as related to the city church, it is obvious that a further distinction is necessary. While one may hold that a giant or a dwarf is better for occasional purposes than the man of average stature, the stature of man is relatively fixed, and one must accept the average as on the whole best. But the normal age of death is not so fixed. Man has

² Bailey & Cummings, *Statistics*, p. 104.

pushed it back during the last century and hopes to do so still more. The wages of street-car conductors are very far from being permanently fixed. Indeed so little are the statistically "typical" wages accepted as a satisfactory standard that a labor union will compare them with the cost of living and argue that just in so far as they are typical they ought to be higher!

It is, of course, manifest that the status of church programs is more like street-car wages than it is like human stature. Not only can church programs be changed, but they are rapidly being changed. The central hypothesis of the present study implies that church development reflects a relatively recent and rapid adaptation to urban conditions. The most frequent type now may not be such in ten or twenty-five years. Here is simply the central tendency of the church program as now current. One may use it as a statistical norm, but by no means as a standard by which churches ought permanently to be judged.

WHAT AUTHORITY HAVE ACTUAL PRESENT TENDENCIES

Is the present frequency of church types, then, merely a point of departure for the understanding, a scale by which a church may locate its position with reference to the total number of churches, but no criterion of where it ought to be located?

A church that has located itself with reference to the scale can hardly escape asking itself, "Does my position indicate anything as to where I ought to be?" The answer is that the presumption of being practically wise or right is on the side of the average church. Variations are the things to be explained.

This is the sole authority that the study asks to have accorded to the present distribution of city churches by types. It furnishes a point of departure for interpreting the actual variations and tends to show within what limits variations are ordinarily profitable. It helps to make what has actually happened appear more or less desirable. The study shows many justifiable grounds for deviating from the average and has no reason to doubt that the actual deviations measured by the relative size of the types have been proper and right on the whole.

To make this position intelligible it will be wise to summarize the chief factors discovered in the course of the study that may qualify or modify the tendency of churches to develop in keeping with the central tendency. These may be classified under the heads of resources, presuppositions, strategy and relationships to other agencies.

(1) *Resources*: What is by no means reflects what *would be* if

all churches had equal strength in money and constituencies. The present programs of decrepit churches do not reveal what they will to do, but only their limited ability. This is often equally true of young churches. There are no universally applicable human standards that one would think of applying equally to the children and aged and the sub-normal, as to the normal adult. The present study has had reason to identify the unadapted type of church largely with institutional infancy or else with decrepitude.³ It therefore declines to apply to it, directly and without qualification, standards derived from the whole body of city churches; and it does not believe that standards so derived can ever have universal applicability.

(2) *Presuppositions*: Again, the study has noted the influence upon church development and adaptation of varying theories of the function of the church in the world and of its relation to human society. It is not willing to mark a church down for not having what it does not believe in, in spite of the practice of majorities.⁴

(3) *Strategy*: Still further, the study has noted that some churches wish to specialize in a limited field in which they can serve with peculiar facility and success. It does not presume to rate these churches merely as above or below the average without giving the right to decide for themselves whether they are wiser to follow the general trend or to turn aside to such specialization. They may serve their ultimate objectives more successfully by the latter course.

(4) *Relationships*: Very early in the book it was pointed out that churches are only one element in larger groups of religious agencies such as hospitals, homes, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, etc., which generally perform certain specialized functions that churches only occasionally undertake. In some of their functions the entire group of religious agencies supplement and are supplemented by other constructive agencies of the community. City governments, for example, foster healthful recreation; Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls try to build character. Obviously what a given church ought to do in these realms depends partly upon the number and effectiveness of other agencies in the field. This, in turn, implies that it ought to study its field.

Any church that desires to depart from the average for these or any other valid reasons is perfectly at liberty to do so. The average is not a norm in any such sense as to deny or abridge the right, and the results of a scientific study of the particular field must obviously supplement any and every general standard.

³ Chapter VII, pp. 139 f. and 144 f.

⁴ See p. 146.

EFFECT OF THE QUALIFYING FACTORS UPON THE SITUATION

It is to be pointed out, however, that the present situation is the result of the exercise of just this right by a large number of churches over a long period of time. It is a fair presumption, therefore, that the effects of such qualifying factors are very widely diffused and that they have profoundly modified the total present facts. Consequently, whatever effect they ought to have, in view of their present strength and direction, they already have had. The actual distribution of churches by types is thus the result of what is institutionally and socially possible with resources of present magnitude plus what people think the church ought to be.

In view of this conclusion, one is not to regard what is as in contrast with what ought to be, but as partially reflecting it. The body of churches is distributed about the average in ways that should be regarded as provisionally normal for the present, and the individual church is likely to want to vary only moderately from its own type.

By the hypothesis of this study church development is assumed to be moving from rural simplicity toward urban complexity. This process is motivated and inwardly provoked by the character and needs of the city and modified by various qualifying forces which at least partially allow what is to reflect what ought to be. How far the movement should go, for the whole body of churches or for any group, is a matter of opinion incapable of objective demonstration. This, however, leaves the current results with a certain present authority. To restate the matter, the numerical relationships of the types of churches are a rough measure of the preponderant tendencies and the distribution of purposes, judgments and decisions that the city church has brought to bear upon its problem. Its present resources, wisdom, plasticity and vision of truth and of service are fairly reflected in the distribution of types within the general trend.

PROBABLE CORRECTNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHURCH'S PRESENT POSITION

This brings the individual church back to the probability that where it is on the developmental scale is somewhere near where it ought to be for the present. The forces that legitimately might have caused it to vary have probably already exhausted their particular potencies and have merged into the common resultant. An alert church will be perpetually engaged in studying its field and itself to see what new duties are emerging, but its present position is at

least the legitimate point of departure for the individual church, moreover, in departing, it should at least give itself a reason for so doing.

With all these considerations in view, and with the necessary qualifications reiterated, the following paragraphs attempt to show how, in general, the trends discovered within the several types and in the urban churches as a whole may be used as norms in studying the individual city church. The composite picture of the types as presented in Chapters V to X is the starting-point, and the directions of change revealed in the subtypes show the normal immediate options before a church.

Norms for the Slightly Adapted Church

The slightly adapted church is the most numerous in American cities and probably should be.

WHY THE AVERAGE IS NOT HIGHER

One of the reasons is that there are so many churches. Most of them are not strong enough to carry out highly elaborated programs of service, and if each should suddenly receive a magical endowment of resources the result would be a group fiercely competing for the multiplied activities for which the city makes no real demand. If there were fewer churches each might well have a broader program. The average size of the city church is increasing much more rapidly in the better established denominations than is the number of churches.⁵ Perhaps ultimately there may be room for enlarged programs for all the survivors.

It must, however, be considered that, in the larger sense, it is neither the individual church nor the total body of churches with respect to which the duty of the individual church ought to be judged, but rather the total work of the religious forces in a given community. The presence of a system of non-church organizations strongly supplementing the church field was discovered at the outset of the study.⁶ These, as has repeatedly been urged, must be recognized as playing their part in the situation.

In view of the large numbers of small churches and the presence and activity of this numerous group of supplemental religious forces, the present study does not hesitate to believe that, at present, the majority of city churches probably ought to be slightly adapted

⁵ As determined by the United States Census of Religious Bodies, the average size of Protestant churches of the recognized denominations in cities of 100,000 and over increased from 295 in 1906 to 327 in 1916 and probably to 346 in 1922, a gain of some 16 per cent., while membership increased over 50 per cent.

⁶ See p. 41.

churches and no more. Even for the future, it is not proved that the typical church will have a highly adapted program of its own. Perhaps the more conscious and carefully adapted program of the future will be carried on by a coöperating group of Christian agencies, rather than by individual churches with many activities. But this is beyond the present point of discussion.

OPTIONS BEFORE A SLIGHTLY ADAPTED CHURCH

If a slightly adapted church finds itself deficient in the characteristics belonging to its group, as statistically determined, it will naturally summon its utmost resources and attempt to bring itself up to the standard. Intimate studies show that the most general method of securing this result is to demand more time and money from members. Churches actually differ greatly in the average number of hours per week and in the average per capita contributions received.

However, the ability to improve by the pressure of such appeals is strictly limited. It is most unlikely that a church will have so exceptional a constituency that it can do work quantitatively equal to that of another church of larger size, more adequate staff and plant and greater financial resources. "Not all your piety nor all your wit" can normally escape the law of the average, though striking exceptions are and will be found, and happy is the church which can make much out of little.

If, on the other hand, a slightly adapted church finds itself fully equaling the average performance of the type, it is called upon to make a decision between further qualitative development without expansion of program and attempting a broader program.

The ordinary options to be considered are those broadly written upon the statistics of the type: thus, (1) with numerical growth and more than average resources in plant and current support, such a church may either follow conservative lines, making itself a superlative example of the type, or (2) it may venture upon a somewhat exceptional program without greatly changing the total character and emphasis of its work.⁷ If it is under special environmental pressure, or if its immediate neighborhood presents exceptional opportunities or challenges to unique types of service, it will be in keeping with its type if it responds in moderate degree.

(3) Or, finally, if such a church can serve conspicuously by specializing, say, upon pulpit ministers or a highly effective Sunday school, it may be warranted in taking this quite exceptional course to the neglect of a balanced program.⁸ Very good reason, however,

⁷ See p. 98 and p. 112.

⁸ See pp. 244 f.

should be given for departing from the general trend of church development. The brilliant preacher who tempts the church to turn itself into a platform for him will not always stay, and the last end of that church may be worse than the first.

SUMMARY

The case of the slightly adapted church may be summarized as follows: Since an ascending and descending scale of size and resources does, in large measure, characterize the church types, and since the great majority of city churches are not beyond the characteristics of the slightly adapted type in these respects and are growing but slowly if at all, it is probably not to be expected that the majority of them can or should plan at present to adapt themselves to the city beyond the performance of the typical services of "average" churches. They cannot lift themselves by their own boot straps into a higher institutional class.

Putting the matter in still another way: until the people who make up the constituencies of the slightly adapted churches are more radically transformed by the city than they now are, there is no reason for expecting very radical transformation in the majority of churches. For, after all, except in the very largest cities, the bulk of the urban area occupied by Protestant people is devoted to families living in one-, or two-family houses, a situation that does not vitally challenge or modify the continuity, privacy and independence of the family group. It is this little-modified manner of living that the modestly developed church reflects, under really average city conditions.

All told, however, it must be admitted that this, the most characteristic church of the American city, does not obviously display distinctive urban qualities of religious adaptation and strategy. This fact may not require apology, but it almost inevitably occurs to the observer to ask the reason for it. The typical church of the city is by no means a commanding institution. It is rather a one-story affair in a sky-scraper environment. One must remember, of course, that, besides being largely rural in origins or tradition, the masses of the city's Protestant population are poor people living under narrow limitations. Is it their humble level which explains the inconspicuous character of the average city church? Does the church represent the real average of the city?

It is not, to say the least, the vast building and thronging congregation which country people are likely to imagine as typical of the city. If they knew the average city church as it really is, they would be sorry for it and say, "Poor little city church!"

Yet this is the prevailing type of religious organization with which current Protestantism is attempting the conquest of so vast and difficult a realm as the American city. If this is indeed what must and ought to be, the church at least needs to understand its own necessary limitations and to respect, honor and use to the full its "day of small things."

Norms for the Unadapted Church

In using the trends established in the body of the study as norms for the unadapted church, one should omit those churches that are unadapted by preference and purpose, because they choose to limit themselves to a type of organization which they suppose reflects apostolic simplicity and because they believe that the average church has already gone too far in the direction of institutional organization and complexity. It is recognized that the considerations on which such assumptions might be challenged lie outside the province of the study.

But a great majority of unadapted churches tacitly admit the tendencies of development implicit in the city church as a whole. They are below the average and are sorry for it. They ought as soon as possible to reach average or typical development. To judge them is to allow for a long series of special handicaps.

YOUNG CHURCHES

If churches are to start at all, they must usually start as infants. Nevertheless, it is the right of every infant to be well born and not to be saddled by the initial handicaps of deformity and malnutrition.

Rendering these analogies into literal terms, one must think of the many planes upon which city populations actually live: the pitiful congestion of the slums; the groping of the immigrant Negro for a foothold in the northern city; the decrepit neighborhood with its surviving "good families" almost submerged; the flickering Protestant affinities of certain foreign groups; the pioneer living on the fringes of cities beyond the pavements and sewers, undergoing the handicaps of the slow-growing or unsuccessful suburb.⁹ The fortunes of such people are not up to the American urban average. Yet all are capable of God and share the impulses to find religious group satisfactions in the church. Who, then, should dare "to forbid water that these should not be baptized" or a place, be it ever so humble, in which they may pray?

Unquestionably, if religion is democratic, it must often start on these levels. Even its wilder and cruder forms must be given an

⁹ See p. 84.

institutional chance as they burst forth uncooled from the central fires of spiritual experience.

DECREPIT CHURCHES

Many a man is called to live on when he would rather die, and such is the case with some churches. To accept the disabilities of old age gracefully, to adopt a narrower program and to conform to its standards, is a severe moral test to an institution. Yet there is nothing discreditable in this, and it is altogether creditable for a church that has seen better days to limit its efforts so as to do well whatever is undertaken. The descent from wealth to poverty, and the acceptance of a reduced standard of ecclesiastical living, is exceedingly painful; nevertheless, a considerable number of churches are called upon to endure it.¹⁰

These considerations, of course, are general. They do not involve the approval of all or of any particular unadapted church. There are far too many fragmentary and quarreling Negro groups huddling in "store front" churches, inexcusable survivals of foreign-speaking churches for groups which have ceased to be recruited from abroad and have been deserted by their own young people, to say nothing of the Gospel halls of the merely erratic or the down-right grafting type. All that is urged is that religion may sometimes start in the city on any of the levels on which people live.

UNWISELY ORGANIZED CHURCHES

In the preceding argument cases are presupposed in which there is no alternative to starting or ending on the unadapted level. But a very large number of cases are subject to the control of the great denominations. These have no such excuse. Such denominations ought to have intelligence and conscience enough to see that their churches are well born. No American church of people on an average economic level need start below the American average in its ecclesiastical career. Others should have adequate help from denominational city mission agencies in order to start right. Organization should be held back if necessary till resources can be mobilized to such an extent as will enable the young church to begin with a standard expression of religious group life. Administrative policy should base itself upon a science of ecclesiastical eugenics. This study is a pioneer contribution toward such a science. It shows an objective standard below which the dominant Protestant forces

¹⁰ See p. 144.

of the nation should be ashamed to begin or ordinarily to perpetuate church organization in large cities.

To this verdict a further qualification is necessary. In the smaller and "slower" cities the most frequent stage of church development falls within the boundaries of this type. Although in a comparison that includes New York and Chicago only slight urban adaptations are shown, from the standpoint of the cities in question, the response of the churches may be even notable. This forbids one to treat them as though the development reached was not *for them* creditable and important.

Norms for Internally Adapted Churches

The section on the internally adapted church indicates the various quantitative factors that tend to accompany this type of program. Its essential characteristic is a multiple staff carrying on a varied specialized ministry; this in turn requiring a more extensive and technically standardized plant and the larger funds necessary to support the entire process.¹¹

But not in such quantitatively measured characteristics alone are the norms of the internally adapted church to be found. As interpreted in the body of the study, its clew lies in a certain urbanization of experience and spirit.¹² This may or may not go with any distinct type of external environment. The people whose minds and hearts create the internally adapted church are attuned to the city in a special degree and with special sympathy. Whether or not it is consciously defined, urbanization of program is an implicit objective. Though possibly living in one-family houses, they find that they cannot be re-living the experiences of the isolated family group. Frequently such churches have been found actually associated with apartment-house neighborhoods. They stand for the relative waning of the home environment and influence and the introduction of novel types of urban experience.

As shown in the body of the study, they frequently minister to downtown-minded people who use the center of the city and its interests for the peculiar congregated life centering in the non-family groups that characterize city population.¹³

The range of program possible and actual in the internally adapted church leaves room for considerable margins of difference. These churches are much less alike than those limited to the common core of conventional church organization. There is no one hard and fast program, nor is one desirable. They are still in the plastic and experimental stage. The only standard requirement is that

¹¹ Chapter VIII.

¹² See p. 157.

¹³ See p. 165.

there shall be an all-round ministry to human life with a corresponding variety of age-, and sex-group organizations.

Indeed many internally adapted churches show a strong tendency to internal reorganization in the interests of simplicity just in order to carry out the broader conception of religion with a more varied program. They are being compelled to reintegrate their too-numerous subsidiaries into a smaller number of groups; as, for example, by gathering up the total ministry of the church for men, women, boys and girls respectively, into departments which organize the expressional as well as the passive religious life, and attempt the control of leisure time, besides trying to relate the constituents more broadly to the life of the community.

STARTING NEW CHURCHES ON THE INTERNALLY ADAPTED LEVEL

In the section on the slightly adapted church it was argued that churches of average size could not ordinarily carry out more than an average program. This judgment is not contradicted by the increasing number of examples of new enterprises starting with elaborated programs. As pointed out in the body of the study,¹⁴ these usually imply a highly urbanized point of view and the presence of powerful forces constituting a bond between the people and creating a neighborhood solidarity. With these exceptional conditions and a very definite ideal of broad religious ministries for normal group life, elaborated programs may be operated through voluntary group action and with rather simple facilities. "Community churches" making such an attempt are rapidly increasing in numbers, though a considerable number of those borrowing the label "community church" are palpable fakes. There is, however, an unexplored wealth of possibilities for the city church in the neighborhood spirit, which all the cross currents of urban life have not been able entirely to overwhelm, and which comes to the surface in most unexpected places. Internally adapted churches built on such foundations are still exceptions, but enough of them may serve to challenge the trend within a few years.

Norms for the Socially Adapted Church

The specifications based on the average experience of the socially adapted churches, as indicated in the body of the study, cover the staff, plant, finances and general lines of adaptation that constitute the point of departure for an individual church of the type.¹⁵ They do not, however, closely determine its program. As already noted,

¹⁴ See p. 168.

¹⁵ Chapter IX.

there is a long list of activities covering fully one-third of the range of the total program of the city church, that is peculiar to the type.¹⁶ The study of actual programs shows that there are wide variations in the options actually chosen by socially adapted churches.

The controlling principles by which these examples of wide liberty may be turned into standards for individual churches are two:

(1) First, the socially adapted church deliberately fits itself to the needs of some particular community or aspect of social life. It has regard for the total series of religious and social organizations that exist in that neighborhood or that function on a city-wide basis, and it undertakes to assume a responsible place within the group by carrying out a set of particular functions in addition to its usual religious ministries. It thus has a relation to the structure of the neighborhood or to the functional agencies of the city. The average church may and does drop out of the neighborhood, its coming or going making very little structural difference. This has been abundantly proved in the intensive surveys of individual cities where the fact of frequent migration of churches has been demonstrated and its consequences measured. The reason why the ordinary church can go or come with so little trace is that its contribution is generally not unique nor does its work fill a specific place met by no other agency. In other words, there are usually a lot of other churches like it, or if not, there are a lot of other churches ready to step into its place.

Such is not the case with the socially adapted church and cannot be with any church that is closely modeled upon the needs and varied experiences of a particular community or aspect of social life.

(2) Again, the best current standards of social work furnish a norm for churches attempting such work. The field of health, recreation, family case work, as well as the realm of special institutions like hospitals and homes have been the subject of long study, and technical and professional standards based on experience and the consensus of experts have been arrived at and promulgated by the standardizing bodies. In entering these fields, the church virtually obligates itself not to fall below standard current practice. It may not be able to tell exactly what is the ideal care of souls, but the immediate requirements of sanitation, of caution and precision as well as of sympathy in philanthropy, and of recognized excellence in many other social fields are not in question.

One of the inevitable discoveries of the study was that not all socially adapted churches reach these standards. For example, one church proudly points to a day nursery in which two or three babies are accommodated to one crib, a situation anathema to the social

worker on the score of sanitation. Such standards arise outside of the norms statistically discovered by the study and are inherent in the exceptional and varied type of social ministries attempted by these specially adapted churches.

Norms for Widely Variant Churches

Except for the small group of widely variant churches which are virtually "Christian centers" or community houses, and whose characteristics have begun to take rather definite shape in spite of the still largely experimental character of the work,¹⁷ no norms are to be found within the experience of the widely variant subtypes. Just because they are widely variant they present few cases within which a trend could be observed, and such slight trends as may appear are not conventional. The average practice of the churches for foreign-speaking people, for example, is generally believed to tell in the main how not to do it rather than how to do it.

Characterizing such churches, Professor Bailey writes:

They have paid little or no attention to the foreigner's religious psychology. Their churches have been organized on too small a scale: accommodated of course to the small numbers of their adherents among any nationality: too often largely supported by outside funds. Protestant foreign work needs to be put upon a large-scale basis, with plants commensurate with other agencies and institutions in the foreign quarters and financed on a basis adapted to Old World habits rather than on the American subscription and occasional-collection basis. It should make a real bid for the adherency of a large portion of the newcomer foreigner.

Certain individual churches may be shining exceptions, but they do not create a rule. They may have hit upon exceedingly important special adaptations, but they have no group experience behind them. Hence they are outside of any realm of interpretation that can be derived from the method of the present study.

Passing from One Type to Another

With changing fortunes or with radically fluctuating vision or policy, there is legitimate ground for the passing of churches from type to type.

In the light of this review of working standards emerging from the considerations of the several types, it is not hard to formulate the general principles that should govern such transitions. Schools promote individuals who have reached certain standards, but there is nothing to tell a church when it should be promoted into a new type of how to proceed when the matter is determined. How then shall it find out for itself? Naturally, by attention to the problems and opportunities that it finds. They are likely to suggest what type

of program is most needed. The church will, of course, next compare the specifications of the new type (which simply express the mode or average of the experience and achievement of a group of actual churches in somewhat similar circumstances) with its own present standards and resources. It will measure the consequences to itself of entering a new type of service in terms of the necessary staff, buildings, facilities and total cost of operation, and with specific reference to the particular programs and methods that it proposes to adopt.

It should then set for itself a time limit for a transitional phase of development, since it usually cannot make so radical a change all at once. This is most important as a check upon itself, since the transitional process leaves a church in a peculiarly vulnerable position, one in which it lacks definite character, and, in the vernacular, is "neither flesh, fish nor fowl."

The time limit in which transition is to be accomplished should be an imperative requirement of denominational or other agencies upon which the church calls for help. Thus, in assisting in a development or building program a church extension society or mission board should enforce upon a church an exact statement of its new objectives, a demonstration that it will reach standard practice in carrying out its proposed program, together with clear evidence that really normal results can probably be reached within a reasonable and definitely measured length of time.

When the standards of the new phase of development are fully reached, a church may continue with quantitative improvement and the more precise meeting of local needs (which is the main method by which the subtypes differentiate themselves), or it may undertake intelligent experiments, corresponding to the sending out of scouts by an army, to determine how far and in what precise directions it should evolve further. In so doing it should always keep in touch with the major trends as determined by the vaster experience of the total body of churches.

The above paragraphs have attempted to sketch a scientific formula for the institutional progress of organized religion. Its working norms are based upon actual experience stated with statistical exactitude and set up as practical guides and measures of progress at every stage. It was not forgotten that needs may be so urgent as to call for sudden and radical transformation of institutions, or that pioneers found empires by doing unusual things. It is merely urged that even a pioneer may well measure the distance from the old world to the new and plan in the light of experience by what methods and resources he hopes to establish himself in the new country.

Trends Present and Future

VALIDITY OF TRENDS AS NORMS

Those who think the trends of the modern church are all wrong will, of course, not be impressed by their use as norms, even in the guarded sense in which the study has used them.

The only answer to this attitude is to plead that one does not know enough to go outside of the facts and does not believe that any one else does. As between the attitude which would scrap the present trend of the church in favor of some theory of its radical re-ordering and that which would work along with it, using it as a provisional standard and point of departure, the study definitely sides with the latter. It is against single-track versions of adaptation holding that all urban church problems can be solved on one principle, as, for example, the sociological or environmental. What ought to be should at least be as varied as what is. It ought to do justice to the limitations as well as to the propulsions that inhere in urban situations and give freedom to the forces that pull back as well as to those that press forward. No deep-seated tendency ought to be entirely obliterated, no matter how much it is modified. It is a sincere conviction, therefore, that the demonstrated trends are, and of right ought to be, points of departure for urban church development. One may strike out legitimately from any point in the series of types or may go beyond them all into the realm of most radical and adventurous experimentation so long as he keeps his head and realizes that it is experimentation and not a coercive demonstration of the true and better way which every one else must accept.

A DIP INTO THE FUTURE

As to the rate of future evolution relative to that of the past, the present study has no data, since it was based upon a contemporary survey. It is considerably impressed, however, with Prof. W. L. Bailey's argument that it will probably be much more rapid, for the reason that the majority of American cities are now past the period of pioneer experimentation in which the church was merely covering the situation in temporary fashion and had had neither time really to adapt itself, nor opportunity—because the city itself had not fully found itself.

For the church to get foothold and survive at all under these conditions Professor Bailey calls both remarkable and creditable. Now that foreign immigration is checked and cities are to be repopulated more largely from native sources—probably also more

largely from elements of urban origin—much of the social confusion of urban growth may be abated. On the physical side, the era of city planning means that the situation will be much more stable. In other words, just in proportion as the city settles down so that the church knows what to count on, the church will find it possible to make accurate adaptations. It will still, however, have to decide whether to make its most radical social adaptations through church forms or, as in the past, chiefly through non-church organizations under Christian impulse and support.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

ITEMS COVERED BY GENERAL SCHEDULES

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Name and denomination of church | 18. Other female worker: Tenure in this position |
| 2. Location (city, by size and region) | 19. Other female worker: Salary |
| 3. Number of members | 20. Current expenses of church |
| 4. Age | 21. Benevolence |
| 5. Years on present site | 22. Equipment: Administrative |
| 6. Race or nationality | 23. Equipment: Educational |
| 7. Staff: Number and designation of paid religious workers | 24. Equipment: Publicity |
| 8. Pastor: Education | 25. Equipment: Convenience |
| 9. Pastor: Experience | 26. Equipment: Community service |
| 10. Pastor: Tenure in this position | 27. Seating capacity of auditorium |
| 11. Pastor: Salary | 28. Number rooms in church |
| 12. Other male worker: Education | 29. Value church property |
| 13. Other male worker: Experience | 30. Sunday School: Enrollment |
| 14. Other male worker: Tenure in this position | 31. Sunday School: Average attendance |
| 15. Other male worker: Salary | 32. Sunday School: Cradle Roll |
| 16. Other female worker: Education | 33. Sunday School: Home Department |
| 17. Other female worker: Experience | 34. Sunday School: Teachers' training class |
| | 35. Sunday School: Age distribution |

Appendix B

THE "CROSS-SECTIONAL" SCHEDULES

The seven cities from which "cross-sectional" schedules were secured are listed in the following table, which also shows how many regular Protestant churches each had in 1916 and how many churches in each were included in the 1,044 studied.

<i>Cities</i>	<i>No. Regular Protestant Churches, 1916</i>	<i>No. Churches Studied</i>
Springfield, Mass.	44	50
Hartford, Conn.	50	34
Providence, R. I.	85	47
Rochester, N. Y.	96	81
Los Angeles, Calif.	295	91
San Francisco, Calif.	150	54
Oakland, Calif.	129	61
Total	849	418

Of this total of 418 "cross-sectional" schedules, 357 from the same cities were used to determine the frequency of church organizations and activities.¹ The balance were secured subsequently to that calculation.

At the rate of increase of churches in all large cities between 1906 and 1916 about 11 per cent. should be added to the 1916 figures to get the probable number of churches at the date of the study, making the total between 900 and 950. Even so the ratio of the sample to the total in the individual cities ranges from a little less than one-third to 100 per cent. and the total sample is probably somewhat more than 40 per cent. of the present number of churches. In other words, the "cross-sectional" sample, so far as it goes, is more than four times as complete as the general sample.

These 418 schedules were originally secured under the Interchurch World Movement by the coöperation of local Protestant churches (in the majority of cases permanently organized into Church Federations) in an effort to get religious data which should be 100 per cent. complete. The securing of schedules sometimes stopped in its tracks when the Interchurch movement ceased to function financially and was sometimes carried further by the local Federations. In the first case the selection was accidental—churches of all sorts and descriptions and of all denominations being included

¹ See p. 57.

so far as the work went—in the other it approached 100 per cent. completion. Springfield, Mass., was studied intensively at a later date. The size of the sample, the motive and auspices under which the data were secured and the circumstances that limited the completion of the process all conspired to make it balanced and without bias in its selections.

Appendix C

TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,044 CHURCH SCHEDULES OBTAINED FROM 56 CITIES, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY

Size of City	Northeast		North Central		South		West		Total
	City	No. of Schedules	City	No. of Schedules	City	No. of Schedules	City	No. of Schedules	
Under 100,000	New Britain ..	4	Duluth	2	Mobile	1	Tacoma	6	27
	Utica	3	Flint	10	Oklahoma City..	2			
100,000 to 250,000 ..	Worcester	1	Kansas City..		Birmingham ..	1	Spokane	5	333
	Springfield ...	57	Kan.	1	Louisville	36	Oakland	61	
	Fall River	6	Omaha	5	Memphis	10			
	New Haven ..	1	St. Paul	2	Nashville	10			
	Hartford	34	Akron	1	Wilmington ..	5			
	Bridgeport ...	4	Toledo	12	Richmond	12			
	Providence ...	1	Columbus	11					
	Peabody	5	Detroit	1					
	Petersen	2	Grand Rapids..	2					
	Trenton	2							
	Scranton	4							
		188							
250,000 to 500,000 ..	Rochester	81	Kansas City..		Washington ...	15	Portland	10	188
	Newark	8	Mo.	11			Seattle	12	
			Minneapolis ..	13			Denver	6	
			Indianapolis ..	9					
			Milwaukee	14					
500,000 to 1,000,000.			Cincinnati	9					344
	Boston	20	St. Louis	64	Baltimore	18	Los Angeles ..	91	
	Buffalo	4	Cleveland	32			San Francisco.	54	
	Pittsburgh	31	Detroit	33				145	
1,000,000 and over ..	Philadelphia ..	29	Chicago	114					152
	New York ...	38							
Total		357		333		109		245	1,044

TABLE 2—ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES AS FOUND IN 357 CROSS-SECTIONAL SCHEDULES COMPARED WITH TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHEDULES*

<i>Organizations and Activities</i>	<i>Cross-Sectional Schedules</i>		<i>Total Schedules</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
1. Preaching and Sunday School ...	357	100	1,044	100
2. Ladies' Aid or Guild	318	89	909	87
3. Women's Missionary Society	306	86	873	84
4. Young People's Society	296	83	803	77
5. Chorus Choir	271	76	603	58
6. General Social Events	221	62	600	57
7. Men's Organization	203	57	597	57
8. Boy Scouts	168	47	481	46
9. Mission Study Classes	164	46	459	44
10. Organized Welcome	111	31	368	35
11. Orchestra or Band	105	29	260	25
12. Boys' Club (not Scouts)	105	29	343	33
13. Lectures	105	29	291	28
14. Library	96	27	286	27
15. Girls' Club (not Scouts)	92	26	373	36
16. Concerts	92	26	288	28
17. Girl Scouts or Equivalent	75	21	248	24
18. Mothers' or Parents' Organization	71	20	214	20
19. Young Women's Organization ...	71	20	385	37
20. Dramatic Club	50	14	137	13
21. Gymnasium Classes	46	13	242	23
22. Sewing Classes	43	12	131	13
23. Kindergarten	29	8	98	9
24. Domestic Science Classes	29	8	70	7
25. Employment Office	29	8	95	9
26. Music Classes	18	5	80	8
27. Visiting Nurse	18	5	46	4
28. Health Classes	14	4	58	6
29. English Classes	14	4	60	6
30. Dramatic Classes	10	3	46	4
31. Day Nursery	10	3	29	3
32. Dispensary or Clinic	7	2	49	5
33. Civics and Economics Classes	4	1	38	4

* The "cross-sectional" schedules were secured by the Interchurch World Movement from the following cities and are known to represent a true and adequate cross section of their churches: Hartford, Providence, Springfield, Rochester, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley. The Providence and Springfield schedules included some suburban churches within the metropolitan area.

ONE THOUSAND CITY CHURCHES

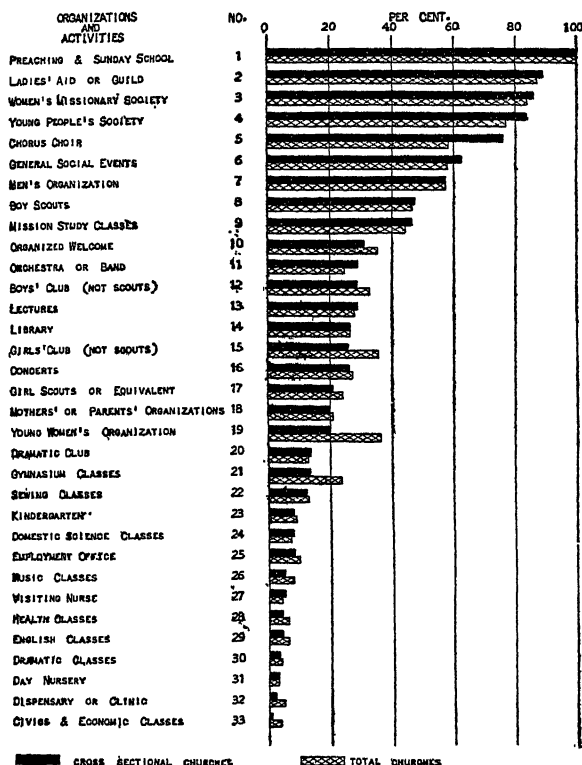


CHART LXI

Per Cent. Frequency of 33 Specified Organizations and Activities in 1,044 City Churches and in 418 Cross-sectional Churches.

TABLE 3—PROPORTION OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES LIVING IN PLACES SMALLER THAN 25,000 POPULATION IN 1910, BY DENOMINATIONS *

Denomination	Per Cent.
Churches of Christ	95.5
Christian Church (Christian Convention)	95.1
Lutheran (United Norwegian)	92.7
Baptist—Southern Convention	92.4
Church of the Brethren (Conservative)	90.4
Methodist Protestant	90.1
Methodist Episcopal, South	89.8
Colored Methodist Episcopal	89.6
Lutheran—Norwegian Synod	89.0
United Brethren in Christ	87.2
Lutheran—Synod of Iowa	86.9

TABLE 3—PROPORTION OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES LIVING IN PLACES SMALLER THAN 25,000 POPULATION IN 1910, BY DENOMINATIONS *—(Continued)

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Baptists—National Convention	84.3
Disciples of Christ	83.1
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints	81.3
Methodist Episcopal Church	77.4
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	77.1
African Methodist Episcopal	77.1
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.	77.0
Evangelical Association	75.1
Lutheran—Joint Synod of Ohio	75.0
Reformed Church in the U. S.	72.4
Lutheran—Synodical Conference	68.0
United Presbyterian	68.0
Lutheran—General Synod	66.9
Congregational Churches	64.3
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.	63.0
Baptist—Northern Convention	62.7
Lutheran—General Council	59.0
German Evangelical Synod	58.8
Reformed Church in America	55.7
Protestant Episcopal Church	44.4
Roman Catholic Church	43.5
Greek Orthodox (Hellenic)	15.8
Jewish Congregations	9.3

* *Census of Religious Bodies* (1916), Part I, p. 121.

TABLE 4—RANK OF PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS BY FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE IN THE 68 CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER IN 1920 *

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number of Cities in which Denomi- nation is Present</i>
Protestant Episcopal	68
Baptist (Northern and Southern Conventions combined)	68
Methodist Episcopal	68
Lutheran (denominations not separately reported)	66
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	65
Congregational	60
African Methodist Episcopal	56
Disciples of Christ	53
Seventh-Day Adventist	51
Unitarian	47
National Baptist	45
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	42
Evangelical Synod	41
United Presbyterian	33
Evangelical Association	31
Reformed in U. S.	28
Universalist	28
Salvation Army	28
Independent churches	26
Methodist Episcopal South	23
Presbyterian, U. S.	22

TABLE 4—RANK OF PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS BY FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE IN THE 68 CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER IN 1920*—(Continued)

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number of Cities in which Denomi- nation is Present</i>
Friends	22
Pentecostal Church of Nazarene	21
Colored Methodist Episcopal	21
United Brethren	20
Reformed in America (and Hungarian)	19
Church of Christ	17
Methodist Protestant	17
Brethren—Plymouth	14
Brethren—German Baptist	14
Advent Christian	13
Church of New Jerusalem	13
Free Methodist	12
Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Presbyterian	12
Armenian	11
United Evangelical	11
Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant	11
Christian and Missionary Alliance	9
Volunteers of America	9
Primitive Methodist	8
Reformed Episcopal	8
Christian Church	7
Church of Living God	7
New Apostolic	6
Christian Reformed	6
Swedish Evangelical, Free	6
Cumberland Presbyterian	5
Reformed Presbyterian	5
Free Baptist	4
Assemblies of God	4
Christadelphians	4
Church of God and Saints of Christ	4
Evangelistic Association	4
Evangelical Protestant	4
African Union Methodist Protestant	4
Primitive Baptist	3
Mennonite	3
Union American Methodist Episcopal	3
Moravian	3
African American Methodist Episcopal	3
Pentacostal Holiness	2
Associate Reformed Presbyterian	2
Colored Methodist Protestant	2
Schwenkfelders	1
American Rescue Workers	1
Churches of God in North America	1
Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Methodist	1

* Based on *Census of Religious Bodies* (1916), Part I, p. 354.

TABLE 5—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, BY TYPES

		Number of Members Under 500									
Type and Subtype		Under 50	Under 100	100-200	200-300	300-400	400-500	Total	500-1,000	1,000 and over	Total
Unadapted	A I	13	37	23	9	4	3	76	1	1	78
	A II	2	5	11	5	3	1	25	4	1	30
	A III	3	9	8	4	2	1	24	2	0	26
	B I	1	9	22	12	16	9	68	17	12	97
	No.	19	60	64	30	25	14	193	24	14	231
	%	8.2	25.9	27.7	13.0	10.8	6.1	83.5	10.4	6.1	100.0
	B II	3	15	32	18	19	12	96	36	17	149
B III	1	7	11	12	13	5	48	16	9	73	
C I	0	0	8	14	13	8	43	32	31	106	
Slightly Adapted	No.	4	22	51	44	45	25	187	84	57	328
	%	1.2	6.7	15.6	13.4	13.7	7.6	57.0	25.6	17.4	100.0
C II	0	0	7	11	9	8	35	36	36	107	
D II	0	0	0	6	6	3	15	35	27	77	
Internally Adapted	No.	0	0	7	17	15	11	50	71	63	184
	%	..	..	3.8	9.2	8.2	6.0	27.2	38.6	34.2	100.0
D III	1	3	2	3	2	4	14	11	15	40	
E II	0	0	1	5	2	5	13	18	32	63	
Socially Adapted	No.	1	3	3	8	4	9	27	29	47	103
	%	1.0	7.9	2.9	7.8	3.9	8.7	26.2	28.2	45.6	100.0
Total of 4 Types	No.	24	85	125	99	89	59	457	208	181	846
	%	3.8	10.0	14.8	11.7	10.5	7.0	54.0	24.6	21.4	100.0
A IV	5	7	9	5	3	1	25	3	1	29	
A V	3	5	5	2	0	0	12	0	0	12	
B IV	1	6	0	1	0	0	7	1	0	8	
C III	4	8	3	3	0	3	17	3	2	22	
D I	0	0	0	3	1	2	6	9	10	25	
E I	0	0	1	1	0	2	4	2	4	10	
Widely Variant	No.	13	26	18	15	4	8	71	18	17	106
	%	12.3	24.5	17.0	14.2	3.8	7.5	67.0	17.0	16.0	100.0
Grand Total ..	No.	37	111	143	114	93	67	528	226	198	952
	%	3.9	11.7	15.0	12.0	9.8	7.0	55.5	23.7	20.8	100.0

TABLE 6—AGE OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype		Number of Years										
		Under 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	Total	25-49	50-74	75-99	100 and over	Total
A I		6	7	7	7	3	30	19	8	1	2	60
A II		2	1	5	3	2	13	13	2	0	0	28
A III		1	3	2	2	1	9	7	4	5	0	25
B I		2	4	9	3	7	25	24	21	2	4	76
Unadapted	No.	11	15	23	15	13	77	63	35	8	6	189
	%	5.8	7.9	12.2	7.9	6.9	40.8	33.3	18.5	4.2	3.2	100.0

TABLE 6—AGE OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION, BY TYPES
(Continued)

		<i>Number of Years</i>											
		<i>Under 25</i>											
		<i>Under 5</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>10-14</i>	<i>15-19</i>	<i>20-24</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>25-49</i>	<i>50-74</i>	<i>75-99</i>	<i>100 and over</i>	<i>Total</i>	
<i>Type and Subtype</i>													
B II		6	9	9	15	10	49	30	27	13	7	125	
B III		2	2	7	4	5	20	22	13	11	1	66	
C I		1	5	7	3	2	18	40	22	10	5	95	
Slightly Adapted	No.	9	16	23	22	17	87	92	61	33	13	286	
	%	3.1	5.6	8.1	7.7	5.9	30.4	32.2	21.3	11.5	4.6	100.0	
C II		1	4	5	4	5	19	24	17	15	12	87	
D II		0	0	1	0	6	7	15	17	20	11	70	
Internally Adapted	No.	1	4	6	4	11	26	39	34	35	23	157	
	%	0.6	2.6	3.8	2.6	7.0	16.6	24.8	21.7	22.3	14.6	100.0	
D III		0	3	0	3	1	7	3	12	6	3	31	
E II		0	2	1	1	1	5	17	12	7	11	52	
Socially Adapted	No.	0	5	1	4	2	12	20	24	13	14	83	
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Total of 4 Types	No.	21	40	53	45	43	202	214	154	89	56	715	
	%	2.9	5.6	7.4	6.3	6.0	28.2	30.0	21.6	12.4	7.8	100.0	
A IV		1	2	1	2	0	6	14	4	2	2	28	
A V		2	1	0	1	0	4	3	2	0	2	11	
B IV		2	1	2	0	0	5	2	0	1	1	9	
C III		2	0	2	1	2	7	10	5	1	1	24	
D I		0	0	0	3	2	5	6	4	5	3	23	
E I		0	0	0	1	1	2	3	2	3	0	10	
Widely Variant	No.	7	4	5	8	5	29	38	17	13	9	105	
	%	6.7	3.8	4.8	7.6	4.8	27.6	36.2	16.2	11.4	8.6	100.0	
Grand Total ..	No.	28	44	58	53	48	231	252	171	101	65	820	
	%	3.4	5.4	7.1	6.5	5.8	28.2	30.7	20.9	12.3	7.9	100.0	

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 7—YEARS AT PRESENT LOCATION, BY TYPES

		<i>Number of Years</i>											
		<i>Under 25</i>											
		<i>Under 5</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>10-14</i>	<i>15-19</i>	<i>20-24</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>25-49</i>	<i>50-74</i>	<i>75-99</i>	<i>100 and over</i>	<i>Total</i>	
<i>Type and Subtype</i>													
A I		7	3	9	10	5	34	12	1	1	1	49	
A II		1	2	0	1	3	7	4	0	0	0	11	
A III		1	1	3	3	1	9	3	2	0	0	14	
B I		0	7	11	10	2	30	13	6	0	2	51	
Unadapted	No.	9	13	23	24	11	80	32	9	1	3	125	
	%	7.2	10.4	18.4	19.2	8.8	64.0	25.6	7.2	0.8	2.4	100.0	
B II		8	10	10	14	10	52	22	10	4	1	89	
B III		2	5	10	6	5	28	20	8	3	0	59	
C I		4	5	6	7	9	31	32	9	1	1	74	
Slightly Adapted	No.	14	20	26	27	24	111	74	27	8	2	222	
	%	6.3	9.0	11.7	12.2	10.8	50.0	33.3	12.2	3.6	0.9	100.0	

TABLE 7—YEARS AT PRESENT LOCATION, BY TYPES
(Continued)

		Number of Years											
		Under 25											

TABLE 8—PROPORTION OF CHURCHES WHICH HAVE NOT CHANGED LOCATION OF CHURCH BUILDING SINCE ORGANIZATION, BY TYPES—(Continued)

Type and Subtype	No. of Churches Reporting	Per Cent. Remaining in Original Location
Total of Four Types	515	29.3
A IV	18	22.2 *
A V	10	20.0 *
B IV	3	..
C III	15	13.3 *
D I	19	42.1 *
E I	10	20.0 *
Widely Variant	75	24.0 *
Grand Total	590	28.6

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 9—SIZE OF STAFF, BY TYPES

Number of Paid Religious Workers

Type and Subtype		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and Over	Total Churches
A I		71	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	76
A II		33	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
A III		22	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
B I		73	14	3	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	97
Unadapted	No.	199	23	4	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	234
	%	85.1	9.8	1.7	3.0	..	0.4	..	..	..	..	100.0
B II		106	21	14	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	154
B III		48	17	9	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	78
C I		49	28	19	5	3	2	0	2	0	0	108
Slightly Adapted	No.	203	66	42	18	7	2	0	2	0	0	340
	%	59.7	19.4	12.3	5.3	2.1	0.6	..	0.6	..	..	100.0
C II		35	22	33	11	6	2	1	1	0	1	112
D II		17	20	19	12	6	2	0	3	0	0	79
Internally Adapted	No.	52	42	52	23	12	4	1	4	0	1	191
	%	27.2	22.0	27.2	12.1	6.3	2.1	0.5	2.1	..	0.5	100.0
D III		8	9	9	8	4	3	0	0	0	1	42
E II		4	15	10	13	9	5	2	4	1	1	64
Socially Adapted	No.	12	24	19	21	13	8	2	4	1	2	106
	%	11.3	22.6	17.9	19.8	12.3	7.6	1.9	3.8	0.9	1.9	100.0
Total of 4 Types	No.	466	155	117	69	32	15	3	10	1	3	871
	%	53.5	17.8	13.5	7.9	3.7	1.7	0.3	1.2	0.1	0.3	100.0
A IV		26	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
A V		9	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
B IV		2	3	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	10
C III		8	10	5	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	27
D I		11	9	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	27
E I		1	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	10
Widely Variant	No.	57	30	14	7	5	1	1	2	0	0	117
	%	48.7	25.6	11.9	6.0	4.3	0.9	0.9	1.7	..	..	100.0
Grand Total	No.	523	185	131	76	37	16	4	12	1	3	988
	%	52.9	18.7	13.3	7.7	3.8	1.6	0.4	1.2	0.1	0.3	100.0

TABLE 10—MALE STAFF WORKERS OTHER THAN PASTOR,
BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Position							Total
	Assistant or Associate Pastor	Director Religious Education	Director Social Service and Social Worker	Director Men's, Boys' or Young People's Work	Secretary	Financial or Executive Secretary or Treasurer	Director of Gymnasium or Boy Scouts, Superintendent, etc.	
A I	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
A II	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
A III	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
B I	6	5	0	0	2	3	0	16
Unadapted	No. 8 %	7	0	0	3	3	0	21
B II	22	8	0	0	0	3	4	37
B III	12	0	0	1	0	0	1	14
C I	18	15	0	0	4	3	2	42
Slightly Adapted	No. 52 %	23	0	1	4	6	7	93
C II	36	13	2	5	1	2	6	65
D II	26	12	4	4	1	3	7	57
Internally Adapted	No. 62 % 50.8	25 20.5	6 4.9	9 7.4	2 1.6	5 4.1	13 10.7	122 100.0
D III	14	1	2	7	2	0	6	32
E II	34	8	2	9	4	0	8	65
Socially Adapted	No. 48 %	9	4	16	6	0	14	97
Total of 4 Types	No. 170 % 51.1	64 19.2	10 3.0	26 7.8	15 4.5	14 4.2	34 10.2	333 100.0
A IV	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
A V	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
B IV	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
C III	4	3	0	0	0	0	6	13
D I	4	1	0	3	3	0	1	12
E I	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
Widely Variant	No. 16 %	7	2	4	3	0	7	39
Grand Total	No. 186 % 50.0	71 19.1	12 3.2	30 8.1	18 4.8	14 3.8	41 11.0	372 100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 12—PASTOR'S EXPERIENCE IN MINISTRY, BY TYPES
(Continued)

Type and Subtype	Number of Years							Total
	Under 5	5-9	Total	10-19	20-29	30-39	40 and over	
B II	14	14	28	25	29	11	5	98
B III	5	12	17	13	13	4	1	48
C I	5	11	16	18	18	10	3	65
Slightly Adapted	No. 24	37	61	56	60	25	9	211
	% 11.4	17.5	28.9	26.5	28.4	11.9	4.3	100.0
C II	1	8	9	18	24	3	1	55
D II	1	5	6	16	16	3	1	42
Internally Adapted	No. 2	13	15	34	40	6	2	97
	% *	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
D III	2	2	4	3	11	4	0	22
E II	0	5	5	12	7	7	1	32
Socially Adapted	No. 2	7	9	15	18	11	1	54
	% *	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Total of 4 Types	No. 65	78	143	129	160	61	20	513
	% 12.7	15.2	27.9	25.1	31.2	11.9	3.9	100.0
A IV	2	4	6	3	5	0	0	14
A V	3	0	3	1	2	2	0	8
B IV	0	3	3	1	1	1	0	6
C III	2	7	9	4	4	0	0	17
D I	1	1	2	6	6	5	0	19
E I	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	5
Widely Variant	No. 8	15	23	17	20	9	0	69
	% *	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Grand Total	No. 73	93	166	146	180	70	20	582
	% 12.5	16.0	28.5	25.1	30.9	12.0	3.4	100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 13—EDUCATION OF PASTOR, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	College, Theological Seminary and Post Graduate				All others	Total
	Theological Seminary	College	Theological Seminary	College, Theological Seminary and Post Graduate		
A I	3	12	22	5	4	46
A II	3	8	12	3	0	26
A III	2	3	11	4	0	20
B I	3	12	41	15	0	71
Unadapted	No. 11	35	86	27	4	163
	% 6.7	21.5	52.7	16.6	2.5	100.0
B II	5	12	65	18	1	101
B III	4	4	21	20	0	49
C I	3	9	47	21	0	80
Slightly Adapted	No. 12	25	133	59	1	230
	% 5.2	10.9	57.8	25.7	0.4	100.0
C II	2	8	32	23	1	66
D II	0	3	31	17	2	53
Internally Adapted	No. 2	11	63	40	3	119
	% 1.7	9.3	52.9	33.6	2.5	100.0
D III	0	3	17	5	0	25
E II	3	2	16	16	0	37
Socially Adapted	No. 3	5	33	21	0	62
	% *	*	*	*	*	*
Total of 4 Types	No. 28	76	315	147	8	574
	% 4.9	13.2	54.9	25.6	1.4	100.0

TABLE 13—EDUCATION OF PASTOR, BY TYPES — (*Continued*)

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Theological Seminary</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>College and Theological Seminary</i>	<i>College, Theological Seminary and Post Graduate</i>	<i>All others</i>	<i>Total</i>
A IV	4	2	11	1	0	18
A V	0	3	1	0	4	8
B IV	0	2	4	0	1	7
C III	5	3	9	7	0	24
D I	1	0	11	10	0	22
E I	2	1	3	3	0	9
Widely Variant	No. 12 % *	11 *	39 *	21 *	5 *	88 *
Grand Total	No. 40 % 6.0	87 13.1	354 53.5	168 25.4	13 2.0	662 100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 14—PASTOR'S TENURE IN PRESENT POSITION, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Number of Years</i>							<i>Total</i>
	<i>Under 2</i>	<i>Under 10 2-4</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-29</i>	<i>30 and over</i>	
A I	19	22	5	46	3	0	0	49
A II	13	5	4	22	2	0	1	25
A III	5	9	1	15	2	2	0	19
B I	17	32	14	63	7	2	0	72
Unadapted	No. 54 % 32.7	68 41.2	24 14.6	146 88.5	14 8.5	4 2.4	1 0.6	165 100.0
B II	30	38	19	87	11	1	1	100
B III	11	27	7	45	3	1	1	50
C I	15	33	12	60	10	2	3	75
Slightly Adapted	No. 56 % 24.9	98 43.5	38 16.9	192 85.3	24 10.7	4 1.8	5 2.2	225 100.0
C II	9	21	15	45	7	3	2	57
D II	8	23	7	38	8	5	2	53
Internally Adapted	No. 17 % 15.5	44 40.0	22 20.0	83 75.5	15 13.6	8 7.3	4 3.6	110 100.0
D III	2	10	6	18	2	1	1	22
D II	4	12	6	22	6	2	1	31
Socially Adapted	No. 6 % *	22 *	12 *	40 *	8 *	3 *	2 *	53 *
Total of 4 Types	No. 133 % 24.1	232 41.9	96 17.4	461 83.4	61 11.0	19 3.4	12 2.2	553 100.0
A IV	8	7	4	19	0	0	0	19
A V	2	2	2	6	0	0	0	6
B IV	2	1	1	4	1	1	0	6
C III	5	3	5	13	1	1	0	15
D I	4	7	7	18	1	1	1	21
E I	0	2	3	5	2	1	0	8
Widely Variant	No. 21 % *	22 *	22 *	65 *	5 *	4 *	1 *	75 *
Grand Total	No. 154 % 24.5	254 40.4	118 18.8	526 83.7	66 10.5	23 3.7	13 2.1	628 100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 15—SALARY OF PASTOR, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype		Under \$500	Under \$1,000	\$1,000 to \$2,000	\$2,000 to \$3,000	\$3,000 to \$4,000	\$4,000 to \$5,000	\$5,000 to \$6,000	\$6,000 to \$7,000	\$7,000 to \$8,000	\$8,000 and over	Total Reporting
A I		3	10	45	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	64
A II		1	4	20	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
A III		1	3	11	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	22
B I		0	4	37	20	7	4	2	1	1	2	78
Unadapted	No.	5	21	113	43	8	4	2	1	1	2	195
	%	2.6	10.8	58.0	22.0	4.1	2.1	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	100.0
B II		2	7	52	32	19	7	11	1	2	1	132
B III		0	4	26	13	11	4	3	3	1	1	66
C I		0	0	17	25	12	12	5	9	5	3	88
Slightly Adapted	No.	2	11	95	70	42	23	19	13	8	5	286
	%	0.7	3.9	33.2	24.5	14.7	8.0	6.6	4.5	2.8	1.8	100.0
C II		0	0	11	22	13	6	12	9	6	3	82
D II		0	0	4	6	14	12	5	9	3	1	54
Internally Adapted	No.	0	0	15	28	27	18	17	18	9	4	136
	%	..	..	11.0	20.6	19.9	13.2	12.5	13.2	6.6	3.0	100.0
D III		0	0	6	5	4	4	1	5	2	0	27
E II		0	0	1	5	10	6	8	5	2	3	40
Socially Adapted	No.	0	0	7	10	14	10	9	10	4	3	67
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Total of 4 Types	No.	7	32	230	151	91	55	47	42	22	14	684
	%	1.0	4.7	33.6	22.1	13.3	8.1	6.9	6.1	3.2	2.0	100.0
A IV		0	1	18	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	27
A V		1	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
B IV		0	0	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
C III		0	0	9	7	2	0	1	0	0	0	19
D I		0	0	3	2	4	3	6	3	2	0	23
E I		0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	7
Widely Variant	No.	1	4	38	22	9	4	7	3	3	0	90
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Grand Total	No.	8	36	268	173	100	59	54	45	25	14	774
	%	1.0	4.7	24.6	22.4	12.9	7.6	7.0	5.8	3.2	1.8	100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 16—MALE WORKER'S EDUCATION, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>High School Only</i>	<i>High School and Seminary</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>College and Post Grad.</i>	<i>College and Seminary</i>	<i>College, Seminary and Post Grad.</i>	<i>Total Reporting</i>
A I	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
A II	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
A III	0	0	2	0	0	1	3
B I	0	0	1	0	2	0	3
Unadapted	0	1	4	0	2	1	8
B II	2	1	1	1	7	2	14
B III	0	0	2	1	2	0	5
C I	1	0	5	1	8	2	17
Slightly Adapted	3	1	8	3	17	4	36
C II	0	0	8	1	9	2	20
D II	4	2	9	0	8	4	27
Internally Adapted	4	2	17	1	17	6	47
D III	1	1	2	2	5	0	11
E II	1	2	8	3	4	14	32
Socially Adapted	2	3	10	5	9	14	43
Total of 4 Types	9	7	39	9	45	25	134
A IV	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
A V	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
B IV	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
C III	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
D I	2	1	0	1	3	0	7
E I	0	0	1	1	2	0	4
Widely Variant	4	2	4	2	6	1	19
Grand Total	13	9	43	11	51	26	153

TABLE 17—MALE WORKER'S EXPERIENCE IN PAID RELIGIOUS WORK, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Under 10 Years</i>			<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-29</i>	<i>30 and Over</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Under 5</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>Total</i>				
A I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A II	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A III	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
B I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unadapted	1	0	1	0	0	0	1

TABLE 17—MALE WORKER'S EXPERIENCE IN PAID RELIGIOUS WORK, BY TYPES — (Continued)

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Under 10 Years</i>			<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-29</i>	<i>30 and Over</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Under 5</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>Total</i>				
B II	1	0	1	3	0	0	4
B III	1	0	1	0	0	1	2
C I	2	3	5	0	0	2	7
Slightly Adapted ...	4	3	7	3	0	3	13
C II	7	1	8	3	0	0	11
D II	7	2	9	5	1	0	15
Internally Adapted ..	14	3	17	8	1	0	26
D III	3	1	4	1	0	0	5
E II	5	5	10	6	1	1	18
Socially Adapted ...	8	6	14	7	1	1	23
Total of 4 Types ...	27	12	39	18	2	4	63
A IV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A V	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
B IV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C III	0	1	1	1	0	0	2
D I	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
E I	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Widely Variant	0	2	2	2	0	1	5
Grand Total	27	14	41	20	2	5	68

TABLE 18—MALE WORKER'S TENURE IN PRESENT POSITION, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Number of Years</i>				<i>15 and Over</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Under 2</i>	<i>Under 5</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>10-14</i>		
A I	0	0	0	0	0	0
A II	0	0	0	0	0	0
A III	0	1	0	0	0	1
B I	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unadapted	0	1	0	0	0	1
B II	3	4	1	0	0	5
B III	0	0	0	0	1	1
C I	4	9	0	1	2	12
Slightly Adapted	7	13	1	1	3	18
C II	5	8	0	0	0	8
D II	6	15	3	1	0	19

TABLE 18—MALE WORKER'S TENURE IN PRESENT POSITION,
BY TYPES — (Continued)

Type and Subtype	Number of Years					Total
	Under 2	Under 5	5-9	10-14	15 and Over	
Internally Adapted	11	23	3	1	0	27
D III	1	3	0	0	0	3
E II	8	14	1	2	1	18
Socially Adapted	9	17	1	2	1	21
Total of 4 Types	27	54	5	4	4	67
A IV	0	0	0	0	0	0
A V	1	1	1	0	0	2
B IV	0	0	0	0	0	0
C III	1	1	0	0	0	1
D I	3	3	1	0	0	4
E I	1	1	0	0	0	1
Widely Variant	6	6	2	0	0	8
Grand Total	33	60	7	4	4	75

TABLE 19—MALE WORKER'S SALARY, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Under \$1,000								Total
	Under \$500	\$500 to \$1,000	Total	\$1,000 to \$2,000	\$2,000 to \$3,000	\$3,000 to \$4,000	\$4,000 to \$5,000	\$5,000 and Over	
A I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A II	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A III	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B I	1	0	1	3	1	3	0	0	8
Unadapted	1	0	1	3	1	3	0	0	8
B II	0	2	2	4	3	3	0	0	12
B III	0	1	1	4	2	1	0	0	8
C I	1	4	5	8	7	4	1	0	25
Slightly Adapted	1	7	8	16	12	8	1	0	45
C II	2	5	7	4	12	5	0	0	28
D II	1	3	4	9	9	7	0	0	29
Internally Adapted	3	8	11	13	21	12	0	0	57
D III	2	0	2	5	4	1	0	0	12
E II	1	4	5	10	12	7	2	1	37

TABLE 19—MALE WORKER'S SALARY, BY TYPES—(Continued)

Type and Subtype	Under \$1,000								Total
	Under \$500	\$500 to \$1,000	Total	\$1,000 to \$2,000	\$2,000 to \$3,000	\$3,000 to \$4,000	\$4,000 to \$5,000	\$5,000 and Over	
Socially Adapted	3	4	7	15	16	8	2	1	49
Total of 4 Types	8	19	27	47	50	31	3	1	159
A IV	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
A V	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B IV	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
C III	0	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	7
D I	0	1	1	4	3	0	0	0	8
E I	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
Widely Variant	0	4	4	11	7	0	0	0	22
Grand Total	8	23	31	58	57	31	3	1	181

TABLE 20—FEMALE WORKER'S EDUCATION, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	High School Only	College	College, Post Grad. or Other	Special Vocational	Total
A I	0	0	0	0	0
A II	0	0	0	0	0
A III	0	0	0	1	1
B I	4	2	1	1	8
Unadapted	4	2	1	2	9
B II	6	2	1	2	11
B III	7	5	1	0	13
C I	3	5	2	3	13
Slightly Adapted	16	12	4	5	37
C II	10	9	4	1	24
D II	17	12	0	3	32
Internally Adapted	27	21	4	4	56
D III	1	9	0	0	10
E II	16	13	1	7	37
Socially Adapted	17	22	1	7	47
Total of 4 Types	64	57	10	18	149
A IV	0	0	0	1	1
A V	0	2	0	1	3
B IV	0	0	0	1	1

TABLE 20—FEMALE WORKER'S EDUCATION, BY TYPES
(Continued)

Type and Subtype	High School Only	College	College, Post Grad. or Other	Special Vocational	Total
C III	2	4	0	4	10
D I	3	2	0	0	5
E II	0	3	0	3	6
Widely Variant	5	11	0	10	26
Grand Total	69	68	10	28	175

TABLE 21—FEMALE WORKER'S EXPERIENCE IN PAID
RELIGIOUS WORK, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Number of Years							Total
	Under 2	Under 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25 and Over	
A I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A II	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A III	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B I	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unadapted	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
B II	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	6
B III	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	4
C I	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
Slightly Adapted	2	7	4	2	0	0	0	13
C II	2	9	4	3	2	3	0	21
D II	0	7	2	2	1	0	0	12
Internally Adapted ..	2	16	6	5	3	3	0	33
D III	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
E II	2	5	3	3	0	3	1	15
Socially Adapted	2	6	5	3	0	3	1	18
Total of 4 Types	6	30	15	10	3	6	1	65
A IV	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
A V	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
B IV	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
C III	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	5
D I	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
E I	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Widely Variant	0	6	6	3	0	1	0	16
Grand Total	6	36	21	13	3	7	1	81

TABLE 22—FEMALE WORKER'S TENURE IN PRESENT POSITION, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Number of Years					Total
	Under 2	Under 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	
A I	0	0	0	0	0	0
A II	0	0	0	0	0	0
A III	0	0	0	0	0	0
B I	0	1	0	0	0	1
Unadapted	0	1	0	0	0	1
B II	4	6	0	0	0	6
B III	2	3	0	0	0	3
C I	4	10	1	0	0	11
Slightly Adapted	10	19	1	0	0	20
C II	2	12	0	2	0	14
D II	7	14	3	1	0	18
Internally Adapted	9	26	3	3	0	32
D III	1	1	0	0	0	1
E II	3	10	3	4	0	17
Socially Adapted	4	11	3	4	0	18
Total of 4 Types	23	57	7	7	0	71
A IV	0	0	0	0	0	0
A V	1	3	0	0	0	3
B IV	0	0	0	0	0	0
C III	2	2	0	0	0	2
D I	2	3	1	1	1	6
E I	0	0	0	0	0	0
Widely Variant	5	8	1	1	1	11
Grand Total	28	65	8	8	1	82

TABLE 23—FEMALE WORKER'S SALARY, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype		Under \$500	\$500	\$1,000	\$1,500	\$2,000	\$2,500	Total
			to \$1,000	to \$1,500	to \$2,000	to \$2,500	and Over	
A I	.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
A II	.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
A III	.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B I	.....	2	2	2	5	0	0	11
Unadapted	..... No.	2	4	2	5	0	0	13
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
B II	.....	3	5	6	1	0	0	15
B III	.....	1	5	7	3	0	0	16
C I	.....	2	10	15	8	1	0	36

TABLE 23—FEMALE WORKER'S SALARY, BY TYPES— (Continued)

Type and Subtype		Under \$500	\$500 to \$1,000	\$1,000 to \$1,500	\$1,500 to \$2,000	\$2,000 to \$2,500	\$2,500 and Over	Total
Slightly Adapted	No. %	6 *	20 *	28 *	12 *	1 *	0 *	67 *
C II		2	18	28	15	0	1	64
D II		8	13	23	12	0	0	56
Internally Adapted ...	No. %	10 9.3	31 25.9	51 42.5	27 22.5	0 ..	1 0.8	120 100.0
D III		1	4	11	6	0	0	22
E II		1	14	23	21	4	1	64
Socially Adapted	No. %	2 *	18 *	34 *	27 *	4 *	1 *	86 *
Total of 4 Types	No. %	20 7.0	73 25.6	115 40.2	71 24.8	5 1.7	2 0.7	286 100.0
A IV		0	0	1	0	0	0	1
A V		1	0	2	0	0	0	3
B IV		0	1	4	0	0	0	5
C III		0	4	1	2	0	0	7
D I		1	4	5	0	0	0	10
E I		0	6	2	1	0	0	9
Widely Variant	No. %	2 *	15 *	15 *	3 *	0 *	0 *	35 *
Grand Total	No. %	22 6.8	88 27.4	130 40.5	74 23.1	5 1.6	2 0.6	321 100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 24—ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENSES, BY TYPES

		Under \$25,000										\$75,000 and over	
Type and Subtype		Under \$5,000	\$5,000 to \$10,000	\$10,000 to \$15,000	\$15,000 to \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$25,000	Total	\$25,000 to \$50,000	\$50,000 to \$75,000		Total		
A I		63	8	0	0	0	71	0	0	0	71		
A II		22	6	0	0	0	28	0	0	0	28		
A III		20	3	0	0	0	23	1	0	0	24		
B I		58	14	7	2	1	82	7	0	0	89		
Unadapted	No.	163	31	7	2	1	204	8	0	0	212		
	%	76.9	14.6	3.3	0.9	0.5	96.2	3.8	..	..	100.0
B II		73	33	11	16	5	138	6	2	0	146		
B III		35	18	6	6	3	68	6	2	0	76		
C I		34	22	14	9	10	89	12	1	0	102		
Slightly Adapted	No.	142	73	31	31	18	295	24	5	0	324		
	%	43.8	22.5	9.6	9.6	5.6	91.1	7.4	1.5	..	100.0		
C II		22	28	13	13	7	83	19	2	0	104		
D II		5	17	11	12	9	54	15	1	0	70		
Internally Adapted	No.	27	45	24	25	16	137	34	3	0	174		
	%	15.5	25.8	13.8	14.4	9.2	78.7	19.6	1.7	..	100.0		

TABLE 24—ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENSES, BY TYPES
(Continued)

		Under \$25,000									
Type and Subtype		Under \$5,000	\$5,000 to \$10,000	\$10,000 to \$15,000	\$15,000 to \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$25,000	Total	\$25,000 to \$50,000	\$50,000 to \$75,000	\$75,000 and over	Total
D III		5	9	10	2	4	30	7	1	0	38
E II		4	7	14	5	9	39	15	5	3	62
Socially Adapted	No.	9	16	24	7	13	69	22	6	3	100
	%	9.0	16.0	24.0	7.0	13.0	69.0	22.0	6.0	3.0	100.0
Total of 4 Types	No.	341	165	86	65	48	705	88	14	3	810
	%	42.1	20.4	10.6	8.0	5.9	87.0	10.9	1.7	0.4	100.0
A IV		21	7	0	0	1	29	0	0	0	29
A V		8	3	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11
B IV		4	2	0	2	0	8	0	0	0	8
C III		12	5	3	1	1	22	1	0	0	23
D I		4	5	4	2	6	21	4	1	0	26
E I		1	4	0	2	1	8	2	0	0	10
Widely Variant	No.	50	26	7	7	9	99	7	1	0	107
	%	46.7	24.3	6.6	6.5	8.4	92.5	6.6	0.9	..	100.0
Grand Total	No.	391	191	93	72	57	804	95	15	3	917
	%	42.6	20.8	10.2	7.9	6.2	87.7	10.4	1.6	0.3	100.0

TABLE 24a—ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENSES UNDER \$5,000,
BY TYPES

Type and Subtype		Under \$1,000	\$1,000 to \$2,000	\$2,000 to \$3,000	\$3,000 to \$4,000	\$4,000 to \$5,000	Total Under \$5,000
A I		15	20	17	8	3	63
A II		3	5	9	2	3	22
A III		2	5	6	4	3	20
B I		1	15	15	14	13	58
Unadapted	No.	21	45	47	28	22	163
	%	9.9	21.2	22.2	13.2	10.4	76.9
B II		4	20	24	18	7	73
B III		1	11	12	3	8	35
C I		0	6	9	12	7	34
Slightly Adapted	No.	5	37	45	33	22	142
	%	1.5	11.4	13.9	10.2	6.8	43.8
C II		0	3	8	4	7	22
D II		1	1	0	2	1	5
Internally Adapted	No.	1	4	8	6	8	27
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*
D III		0	1	0	3	1	5
E II		0	0	1	2	1	4

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TABLE 24a—ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENSES UNDER \$5,000,
BY TYPES—(Continued)

<i>Type and Subtype</i>		<i>Under \$1,000</i>	<i>\$1,000 to \$2,000</i>	<i>\$2,000 to \$3,000</i>	<i>\$3,000 to \$4,000</i>	<i>\$4,000 to \$5,000</i>	<i>Total Under \$5,000</i>
Socially Adapted	No. 0 % *	1 *	1 *	5 *	2 *	9 *	
Total of 4 Types	No. 27 % 3.3	87 10.7	101 12.5	72 8.9	54 6.7	341 42.1	
A IV	1	9	4	4	3	21	
A V	1	5	1	0	1	8	
B IV	1	0	1	2	0	4	
C III	1	1	5	3	2	12	
D I	0	0	1	2	1	4	
E I	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Widely Variant	No. 4 % *	15 *	12 *	12 *	7 *	50 *	
Grand Total	No. 31 % 3.4	102 11.1	113 12.3	84 9.2	61 6.7	391 42.7	

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 25—PER CAPITA ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENSES AND
CURRENT BENEVOLENCES, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Per Capita Current Expense</i>	<i>Per Capita Benevolence</i>
A I	\$16.98	\$4.34
A II	10.50	4.11
A III	19.57	7.22
B I	14.13	9.24
Unadapted	14.75	7.79
B II	16.78	10.02
B III	22.75	9.94
C I	17.06	15.17
Slightly Adapted	17.96	12.14
C II	18.79	11.63
D II	19.55	12.64
Internally Adapted	19.12	12.03
D III	20.94	15.08
E II	19.57	11.57
Socially Adapted	19.95	12.55
Average of 4 Types	18.27	11.65

TABLE 25—PER CAPITA ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENSES AND CURRENT BENEVOLENCES, BY TYPES—(Continued)

Type and Subtype	Per Capita Current Expense	Per Capita Benevolence
A IV	\$18.83	\$9.77
A V	25.48	7.00
B IV	42.21	8.16
C III	14.60	3.83
D I	16.37	11.40
E I	16.63	16.23
Widely Variant	17.23	10.33
Average of Total	18.17	11.52

TABLE 26—ANNUAL BENEVOLENCES, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Under \$5,000											
	Under \$1,000	\$1,000 to \$2,000	\$2,000 to \$3,000	\$3,000 to \$4,000	\$4,000 to \$5,000	Total	\$5,000 to \$10,000	\$10,000 to \$15,000	\$15,000 to \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$25,000	\$25,000 and over	Total
A I	44	8	3	1	0	56	0	0	0	0	0	56
A II	17	6	1	1	0	25	1	0	0	0	0	26
A III	10	6	1	1	0	18	3	0	0	0	0	21
B I	32	17	8	5	3	65	3	2	2	1	5	78
Unadapted	No. 103 % 56.9	37 20.4	13 7.2	8 4.4	3 1.7	164 90.6	7 3.9	2 1.1	2 1.1	1 0.5	5 2.8	181 100.0
B II	60	18	10	7	5	100	18	3	7	2	7	137
B III	33	6	4	4	5	52	11	2	0	2	4	71
C I	21	8	11	4	4	48	15	9	9	2	11	94
Slightly Adapted	No. 114 % 37.7	32 10.6	25 8.3	15 5.0	14 4.6	200 66.2	44 14.6	14 4.6	16 5.3	6 2.0	22 7.3	302 100.0
C II	18	12	5	6	8	49	24	4	10	2	10	99
D II	4	6	6	8	5	29	13	8	4	4	8	66
Internally Adapted	No. 22 % 13.3	18 10.9	11 6.7	14 8.5	13 7.9	78 47.3	37 22.4	12 7.3	14 8.5	6 3.6	18 10.9	165 100.0
D III	5	5	3	5	2	20	5	2	2	2	5	36
E II	3	3	7	4	2	19	11	7	5	5	10	57
Socially Adapted	No. 8 % *	8 *	10 *	9 *	4 *	39 *	16 *	9 *	7 *	7 *	15 *	93 *
Total of 4 Types	No. 247 % 33.3	95 12.8	59 8.0	46 6.2	34 4.6	481 64.9	104 14.0	37 5.0	39 5.3	20 2.7	60 8.1	741 100.0
A IV	18	4	3	0	1	26	2	0	1	0	0	29
A V	5	1	2	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
B IV	7	0	1	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
C III	14	3	0	1	1	19	0	0	0	0	1	20
D I	2	1	4	3	2	12	5	3	2	0	4	26
E I	2	2	1	0	0	5	1	0	1	0	3	10
Widely Variant	No. 48 % 47.5	11 10.9	11 10.9	4 4.0	4 4.0	78 77.2	8 7.9	3 3.0	4 4.0	0 ..	8 7.9	101 100.0
Grand Total	No. 295 % 35.0	106 12.6	70 8.3	50 6.0	38 4.5	559 66.4	112 13.3	40 4.7	43 5.1	20 2.4	68 8.1	842 100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 26a—ANNUAL BENEVOLENCES UNDER \$1,000, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>		<i>Under \$100</i>	<i>\$100 to \$200</i>	<i>\$200 to \$300</i>	<i>\$300 to \$400</i>	<i>\$400 to \$500</i>	<i>\$500 to \$600</i>	<i>\$600 to \$700</i>	<i>\$700 to \$800</i>	<i>\$800 to \$900</i>	<i>\$900 to \$1,000</i>	<i>Under \$1,000</i>
A I		11	9	3	5	5	2	2	4	2	1	44
A II		2	5	2	1	1	1	0	2	1	2	17
A III		3	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	2	10
B I		2	5	5	3	7	4	2	1	2	1	32
Unadapted	No.	18	19	10	11	13	7	6	8	5	6	103
	%	9.9	10.5	5.5	6.1	7.2	3.9	3.3	4.4	2.8	3.3	56.9
B II		7	10	5	9	8	6	8	3	2	2	60
B III		3	9	8	3	1	3	3	1	1	1	33
C I		1	2	3	4	2	4	1	2	1	1	21
Slightly Adapted	No.	11	21	16	16	11	13	12	6	4	4	114
	%	3.6	7.0	5.3	5.3	3.6	4.3	4.0	2.0	1.3	1.3	37.7
C II		1	0	1	0	4	4	3	2	0	3	18
D II		0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4
Internally Adapted	No.	1	0	3	0	4	4	3	3	0	4	22
	%	0.6	..	1.8	..	2.4	2.4	1.8	1.8	..	2.4	13.3
D III		0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	5
E II		0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
Socially Adapted	No.	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	3	0	0	8
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Total of 4 Types	No.	30	40	30	27	29	26	22	20	9	14	247
	%	4.0	5.4	4.0	3.7	3.9	3.5	3.0	2.7	1.2	1.9	33.3
A IV		5	1	1	2	0	4	1	1	3	0	18
A V		1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	5
B IV		1	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	7
C III		1	3	1	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	14
D I		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
D I		0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Widely Variant	No.	8	7	4	6	7	5	3	3	4	1	48
	%	7.8	6.9	4.0	5.9	6.9	5.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	47.5
Grand Total	No.	38	47	34	33	36	31	25	23	13	15	295
	%	4.5	5.6	4.0	3.9	4.3	3.7	3.0	2.7	1.5	1.8	35.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 27—NUMBER OF EQUIPMENT FACILITIES, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>		<i>Number of Facilities</i>				<i>20 and Over</i>	<i>Total Reporting</i>
		<i>Under 5</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>10-14</i>	<i>15-19</i>		
A I		31	24	2	0	0	57
A II		11	13	2	0	0	26
A III		5	15	2	0	0	22
B I		18	43	15	2	0	78
Unadapted	No.	65	95	21	2	0	183
	%	35.5	51.9	11.5	1.1	..	100.0

TABLE 27—NUMBER OF EQUIPMENT FACILITIES, BY TYPES
(Continued)

Type and Subtype	Number of Facilities				20 and Over	Total Reporting
	Under 5	5-9	10-14	15-19		
B II	26	60	32	3	0	121
B III	15	25	16	8	0	64
C I	5	46	33	9	0	93
Slightly Adapted	No. 46 % 16.6	131 47.1	81 29.1	20 7.2	0 ..	278 100.0
C II	1	25	39	21	2	88
D II	0	10	29	28	2	69
Internally Adapted	No. 1 % 0.6	35 22.3	68 43.4	49 31.2	4 2.5	157 100.0
D III	1	3	17	9	0	30
E II	0	4	13	32	7	56
Socially Adapted	No. 1 % *	7 *	30 *	41 *	7 *	86 *
Total of 4 Types	No. 113 % 16.0	268 38.1	200 28.4	112 16.0	11 1.5	704 100.0
A IV	6	12	5	0	0	23
A V	1	5	3	1	0	10
B IV	3	2	1	2	0	8
C III	3	10	8	5	0	26
D I	2	3	9	11	0	25
E I	0	0	5	4	0	9
Widely Variant	No. 15 % 14.8	32 31.7	31 30.7	23 22.8	0 ..	101 100.0
Grand Total	No. 128 % 15.9	300 37.3	231 28.7	135 16.8	11 1.3	805 100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 28—NUMBER OF ROOMS IN CHURCH BUILDING,
BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	1	2	Under 5		Total	Under 10		10-19	30 and Over		Total
			3	4		5-9	Total		20-29	Over	
A I	1	5	2	2	10	10	20	4	1	0	25
A II	0	2	0	0	2	3	5	4	2	0	11
A III	3	1	1	0	5	3	8	1	1	0	10
B I	4	3	3	5	15	13	28	17	3	0	48
Unadapted	No. 8 % *	11 *	6 *	7 *	32 *	29 *	61 *	26 *	7 *	0 *	94 *
B II	4	3	4	1	12	18	30	19	8	2	59
B III	1	2	4	1	8	13	21	12	4	3	40
C I	1	2	2	3	8	15	23	22	14	2	61
Slightly Adapted	No. 6 % 3.7	7 4.4	10 6.3	5 3.1	28 17.5	46 28.8	74 46.3	53 33.1	26 16.2	7 4.4	160 100.0

TABLE 28 — NUMBER OF ROOMS IN CHURCH BUILDING,
BY TYPES — (Continued)

Type and Subtype		Under 5				Total	Under 10		10-19	30 and Over		Total
		1	2	3	4		5-9	Total		20-29	Over	
C II		0	1	0	1	2	14	16	21	8	6	51
D II		0	0	0	2	2	7	9	25	12	8	54
Internally Adapted	No.	0	1	0	3	4	21	25	46	20	14	105
	%	..	1.0	..	2.9	3.8	20.0	23.8	43.8	19.1	13.3	100.0
D III		0	0	0	0	0	5	5	13	4	2	24
E II		0	0	1	1	2	8	10	19	5	10	44
Socially Adapted	No.	0	0	1	1	2	13	15	32	9	12	68
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Total of 4 Types	No.	14	19	17	16	66	109	175	157	62	33	427
	%	3.3	4.5	4.0	3.7	15.5	25.5	41.0	35.8	14.5	7.7	100.0
A IV		0	0	2	0	2	4	6	3	0	1	10
A V		0	0	1	1	2	2	4	0	1	0	5
B IV		0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	1	4
C III		0	0	2	1	3	3	6	4	3	0	13
D I		0	0	0	0	0	5	5	8	5	1	19
E I		0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	3	7
Widely Variant	No.	0	0	5	2	7	18	25	17	10	6	58
	%	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Grand Total	No.	14	19	22	18	73	127	200	174	72	39	485
	%	2.9	3.9	4.5	3.7	15.0	26.2	41.2	35.9	14.9	8.0	100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 29 — VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	No. Reporting	Total	Average	Median
A I	46	\$999,772	\$21,719	\$10,900
A II	20	444,525	22,226	20,050
A III	21	798,012	38,000	20,000
B I	64	4,141,068	64,704	28,350
Unadapted	151	6,383,377	42,274	20,000
B II	101	7,665,583	75,897	36,600
B III	35	4,073,750	116,393	33,000
C I	64	7,283,281	113,801	45,000
Slightly Adapted	200	19,022,614	95,113	39,000
C II	45	7,523,778	167,195	86,570
D II	23	4,172,819	181,426	150,000
Internally Adapted	68	11,696,597	172,009	120,400
D III	13	2,705,438	208,111	111,500
E II	18	4,802,591	266,811	175,000
Socially Adapted	31	7,508,029	242,194	142,938
Total of 4 Types	450	44,610,617	99,135	35,000

TABLE 29—VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY, BY TYPES
(Continued)

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>No. Reporting</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Median</i>
A IV	17	\$1,094,575	\$64,387	\$19,500
A V	5	152,341	30,468	12,000
B IV	5	241,125	48,225	30,000
C III	15	886,336	59,089	30,000
D I	12	1,789,626	149,135	105,750
E I	3	731,359	243,786	286,359
Widely Variant	57	4,895,362	85,884	30,000
Grand Total	507	49,505,979	97,645	35,000

TABLE 30—SEATING CAPACITY OF AUDITORIUM, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>No. Reporting</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Median</i>
A I	56	13,889	248	200
A II	27	7,998	296	250
A III	23	7,526	327	250
B I	79	40,651	515	350
Unadapted	185	70,064	379	250
B II	110	51,260	466	400
B III	56	28,223	504	425
C I	91	66,386	730	600
Slightly Adapted	257	145,869	568	450
C II	74	57,260	774	700
D II	62	49,731	802	800
Internally Adapted	136	106,991	787	700
D III	27	19,475	821	600
E II	55	52,719	959	900
Socially Adapted	82	72,194	880	825
Total of 4 Types	660	395,118	599	500
A IV	26	9,377	360	312
A V	7	2,500	357	350
B IV	10	3,717	372	275
C III	20	8,210	410	300
D I	21	19,100	909	900
E I	9	7,170	797	800
Widely Variant	93	50,074	538	400
Grand Total	753	445,192	591	450

TABLE 31—SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Number of Pupils								1,000 and Over	Total
	Under 50	Under 100	100 to 200	200 to 300	300 to 400	400 to 500	Total	500 to 1,000		
A I	8	27	17	15	2	0	61	0	0	61
A II	0	5	9	8	2	0	24	1	0	25
A III	5	10	8	1	0	1	20	1	0	21
B I	2	6	21	19	13	4	63	11	2	76
Unadapted	No. 15 % 8.2	48 26.2	55 30.1	43 23.5	17 9.3	5 2.7	168 91.8	13 7.1	2 1.1	183 100.0
B II	2	18	41	25	21	7	112	14	9	135
B III	1	8	21	15	5	8	57	6	3	66
C I	2	4	9	23	17	15	68	20	9	97
Slightly Adapted	No. 5 % 1.7	30 10.1	71 23.8	63 21.1	43 14.4	30 10.1	237 79.5	40 13.4	21 7.1	298 100.0
C II	0	1	18	12	18	11	60	23	10	93
D II	0	1	7	11	9	13	41	19	9	69
Internally Adapted	No. 0 % ..	2 1.2	25 15.4	23 14.2	27 16.7	24 14.8	101 62.3	42 26.0	19 11.7	162 100.0
D III	0	0	6	7	3	3	19	13	1	33
E II	0	1	3	7	13	8	32	20	7	59
Socially Adapted	No. 0 % *	1 *	9 *	14 *	16 *	11 *	51 *	33 *	8 *	92 *
Total of 4 Types	No. 20 % 2.7	81 11.0	160 21.8	143 19.5	103 14.0	70 9.5	557 75.8	128 17.4	50 6.8	735 100.0
A IV	3	7	7	8	1	1	24	0	0	24
A V	1	3	5	1	1	0	10	0	0	10
B IV	2	5	3	2	0	0	10	0	0	10
C III	0	7	8	4	4	1	24	2	1	27
D I	0	0	1	3	3	6	13	8	5	26
E I	0	0	3	1	0	1	5	3	1	9
Widely Variant	No. 6 % 5.7	22 20.7	27 25.5	19 17.9	9 8.5	9 8.5	86 81.1	13 12.3	7 6.6	106 100.0
Grand Total	No. 26 % 3.1	103 12.2	187 22.2	162 19.3	112 13.3	79 9.4	643 76.4	141 16.8	57 6.8	841 100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 32—RATIO OF AVERAGE SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT TO AVERAGE CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Per Cent.
A I	89
A II	73
A III	72
B I	63
Unadapted	69
B II	72
B III	73
C I	66

TABLE 32—RATIO OF AVERAGE SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT TO AVERAGE CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, BY TYPES

(Continued)

Type and Subtype	Per Cent.
Slightly Adapted	68
C II	60
D II	61
Internally Adapted	61
D III	67
E II	47
Socially Adapted	52
Total of 4 Types	63
A IV	56
A V	101
B IV	94
C III	54
D I	67
E I	54
Widely Variant	62
Grand Total	63

TABLE 33—AVERAGE SUNDAY-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Number of Pupils								
	Under 50	Under 100	100 to 200	200 to 300	300 to 400	400 to 500	Total	500 to 1,000	1,000 and Over
A I	8	11	6	2	0	0	19	0	19
A II	0	4	6	0	0	0	10	0	10
A III	1	5	3	0	0	0	8	0	8
B I	0	9	21	8	2	1	41	0	42
Unadapted	No. 9	29	36	10	2	1	78	0	79
	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *
B II	1	16	31	11	3	1	62	7	70
B III	3	7	13	6	1	0	27	3	30
C I	1	4	17	13	11	4	49	8	59
Slightly Adapted	No. 5	27	61	30	15	5	138	18	159
	% 3.1	% 17.0	% 38.4	% 18.9	% 9.4	% 3.1	% 86.8	% 11.3	% 100.0
C II	0	4	14	13	2	5	38	9	47
D II	0	0	14	13	12	1	40	4	46
Internally Adapted	No. 0	4	28	26	14	6	78	13	93
	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *	% *
D III	0	0	6	4	3	3	16	2	18
E II	0	0	4	8	11	1	24	8	33

TABLE 33—AVERAGE SUNDAY-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE,
BY TYPES—(Continued)

Type and Subtype		Number of Pupils									Total
		Under 500									
Socially Adapted	No. %	Under 50 0 *	Under 100 0 *	100 to 200 10 *	200 to 300 12 *	300 to 400 14 *	400 to 500 4 *	Total 40 *	500 to 1,000 10 *	1,000 and Over 1 *	
Total of 4 Types	No. %	14 3.7	60 15.7	135 35.4	78 20.4	45 11.8	16 4.2	334 87.5	41 10.7	7 1.8	
A IV		2	4	6	0	0	0	10	0	0	
A V		3	6	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	
B IV		3	4	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	
C III		0	5	4	2	0	2	13	1	0	
D I		0	0	3	3	2	4	12	6	0	
E I		0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	
Widely Variant	No. %	8 *	19 *	15 *	6 *	3 *	6 *	49 *	9 *	0 *	
Grand Total	No. %	22 5.0	79 17.9	150 34.1	84 19.1	48 10.9	22 5.0	383 87.0	50 11.4	7 1.6	

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 34—RATIO OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE TO
ENROLLMENT, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Per Cent.
A I	58
A II	66
A III	73
B I	63
Unadapted	63
B II	58
B III	52
C I	63
Slightly Adapted	59
C II	61
D II	64
Internally Adapted	62
D III	59
E II	65
Socially Adapted	63
Total of 4 Types	61

TABLE 34—RATIO OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE TO ENROLLMENT, BY TYPES— (*Continued*)

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
A IV	61
A V	58
B IV	62
C III	64
D I	59
E I	64
Widely Variant	61
Grand Total	61

TABLE 35—SUNDAY-SCHOOL AGE DISTRIBUTION, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Under 6</i>	<i>6-14</i>	<i>15-20</i>	<i>21 and Over</i>	<i>Total</i>
A I	655	2,643	815	1,031	5,144
A II	262	1,182	409	579	2,432
A III	216	1,109	275	341	1,941
B I	1,515	5,731	2,652	2,988	12,886
Unadapted	2,648	10,665	4,151	4,939	22,403
B II	2,207	9,736	3,955	4,681	20,579
B III	1,227	5,665	1,650	2,886	11,428
C I	2,002	8,253	3,790	5,582	19,627
Slightly Adapted	5,436	23,654	9,395	13,149	51,634
C II	2,415	10,227	5,316	7,851	25,809
D II	1,209	5,714	3,857	3,414	14,194
Internally Adapted	3,624	15,941	9,173	11,265	40,003
D III	546	1,918	1,305	1,361	5,130
E II	924	4,882	2,876	3,217	11,899
Socially Adapted	1,470	6,800	4,181	4,578	17,029
Total of 4 Types	13,178	57,060	26,900	33,931	131,069
A IV	281	951	201	255	1,688
A V	150	518	111	156	835
B IV	203	462	81	75	821
C III	319	1,206	336	631	2,492
D I	786	3,530	1,523	3,709	9,548
E I	264	843	888	552	2,547
Widely Variant	2,003	7,510	3,140	5,378	18,031
Grand Total	15,181	64,570	30,040	39,309	149,100

TABLE 35a—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Under 6</i>	<i>6-14</i>	<i>15-20</i>	<i>21 and Over</i>	<i>Total</i>
A I	12.7	51.5	15.8	20.0	100.0
A II	10.8	48.6	16.8	23.8	100.0
A III	11.1	57.1	14.2	17.6	100.0
B I	11.8	44.4	20.6	23.2	100.0
Unadapted	11.8	47.7	18.5	22.0	100.0
B II	10.7	47.3	19.2	22.8	100.0
B III	10.7	49.6	14.4	25.3	100.0
C I	10.2	42.1	19.3	28.4	100.0
Slightly Adapted	10.5	45.8	18.2	25.5	100.0
C II	9.3	39.7	20.6	30.4	100.0
D II	8.5	40.2	27.2	24.1	100.0
Internally Adapted	9.1	39.8	22.9	28.2	100.0
D III	10.7	37.4	25.4	26.5	100.0
E II	7.8	41.1	24.1	27.0	100.0
Socially Adapted	8.6	39.9	24.6	26.9	100.0
Total of 4 Types	10.0	43.6	20.5	25.9	100.0
A IV	16.7	56.3	11.9	15.1	100.0
A V	16.0	55.4	11.9	16.7	100.0
B IV	24.7	56.3	9.9	9.1	100.0
C III	12.8	48.4	13.5	25.3	100.0
D I	8.2	37.0	15.9	38.9	100.0
E I	10.4	33.1	34.8	21.7	100.0
Widely Variant	11.1	41.7	17.4	29.8	100.0
Grand Total	10.2	43.3	20.2	26.3	100.0

TABLE 36.—FREQUENCY OF CERTAIN CHURCH ACTIVITIES, BY TYPES

Type and Subtype	Activities										Rooming and Board	Number Reporting
	Number Cooperating with Organized Charities	Church Office Open Daily	Organized Athletics	Church Open Daily for Devotions	Daily Vacation Bible School	Motion-pictures	Children's Congregations	Week-day School of Religious Education	Children's Sermons	Sunday Evening Tea	Forum	
A I.....	10	6	3	2	9	2	2	3	1	3	0	74
A II.....	5	5	2	2	3	0	2	4	1	0	0	30
A III.....	5	6	2	5	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	30
B I.....	31	15	18	7	3	5	6	4	6	2	4	68
Unadapted	51	32	25	16	17	7	10	15	8	5	4	191
B II.....	40	29	29	13	20	12	6	8	6	13	5	119
B III.....	21	19	15	13	10	10	6	10	4	4	2	68
C I.....	60	47	32	15	12	8	13	7	17	21	6	92
Slightly Adapted	121	95	76	41	42	30	25	25	27	38	13	279
C II.....	51	50	47	18	18	18	12	14	8	22	8	104
D II.....	58	64	45	28	29	22	18	22	18	29	11	73
Internally Adapted	109	114	92	46	47	40	30	36	26	51	19	177
D III.....	27	20	18	10	15	14	6	6	8	9	4	37
E I.....	54	50	49	30	31	25	25	21	23	33	21	59
Socially Adapted	81	70	67	40	46	39	31	27	31	42	25	96
Total of 4 Types	362	311	260	143	152	116	96	103	92	136	61	743
A IV.....	9	4	2	2	1	2	1	3	0	1	1	23
A V.....	4	2	0	1	5	3	0	2	0	1	0	12
B IV.....	3	3	3	2	4	3	0	2	0	0	0	11
C III.....	15	5	10	3	7	7	1	4	0	4	1	29
D I.....	19	16	14	6	8	9	4	4	5	7	3	25
E I.....	8	7	5	3	5	5	3	3	5	5	0	10
Widely Variant	58	37	34	17	30	29	9	18	10	18	5	110
Grand Total	420	348	294	160	182	145	108	121	102	154	66	853

TABLE 37—CENTRAL AND RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF CHURCHES, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Central</i>		<i>Residential</i>	<i>Total</i>
A I		4	11	15
A II		1	5	6
A III		2	2	4
B I		2	5	7
Unadapted	No. 9		23	32
	% *		*	*
B II		24	32	56
B III		14	22	36
C I		16	16	32
Slightly Adapted	No. 54		70	124
	% 43.5		56.5	100.0
C II		25	33	58
D II		19	7	26
Internally Adapted	No. 44		40	84
	% *		*	*
D III		12	12	24
E II		26	25	51
Socially Adapted	No. 38		37	75
	% *		*	*
Total of 4 Groups	No. 145		170	315
	% 46.0		54.0	100.0

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 38a—CENTRALLY LOCATED CHURCHES—CHARACTER OF CENTER, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Character of Center</i>			<i>Total Reporting</i>
	<i>Major Center</i>	<i>Minor Center</i>	<i>Near Center</i>	
A I	0	3	1	4
A II	1	0	0	1
A III	2	0	0	2
B I	0	0	2	2
Unadapted	3	3	3	9
B II	13	3	8	24
B III	11	1	2	14
C I	7	4	5	16
Slightly Adapted	31	8	15	54
C II	16	3	6	25
C II	13	3	3	19

TABLE 38a—CENTRALLY LOCATED CHURCHES—CHARACTER OF CENTER, BY TYPES—(Continued)

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Character of Center</i>			<i>Total Reporting</i>
	<i>Major Center</i>	<i>Minor Center</i>	<i>Near Center</i>	
Internally Adapted	29	6	9	44
D III	7	3	2	12
E II	18	4	4	26
Socially Adapted	25	7	6	38
Total	88	24	33	145

TABLE 38b—CENTRALLY LOCATED CHURCHES—CHARACTER OF LOCATION, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Character of Location</i>			<i>No. Reporting</i>
	<i>Strategic</i>	<i>Non-Strategic</i>	<i>Doubtful or Mixed</i>	
A I	3	0	1	4
A II	0	0	0	0
A III	0	2	0	2
B I	0	0	0	0
Unadapted	3	2	1	6
B II	13	3	3	19
B III	2	3	2	7
C I	10	3	0	13
Slightly Adapted	25	9	5	39
C II	14	5	3	22
D II	2	4	11	17
Internally Adapted	16	9	14	39
D III	6	4	0	10
E II	2	3	0	5
Socially Adapted	8	7	0	15
Total	52	27	20	99

TABLE 38c—CENTRALLY LOCATED CHURCHES—QUALITY OF LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Character of Neighborhood</i>					<i>No. Reporting</i>
	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>			
			<i>Transient</i>	<i>Industrial</i>	<i>Slum</i>	
A I	0	2	1	2	0	5
A II	0	1	0	0	0	1
A III	1	0	1	0	0	2
B I	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unadapted	1	3	2	2	0	8

TABLE 38c—CENTRALLY LOCATED CHURCHES—QUALITY OF LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD, BY TYPES—(Continued)

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Character of Neighborhood</i>					<i>No. Reporting</i>
	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Transient</i>	<i>Industrial</i>	<i>Slum</i>
B II	3	11	0	3	0	17
B III	3	4	2	0	2	11
C I	5	5	0	1	0	11
Slightly Adapted	11	20	2	4	2	39
C II	4	7	1	1	2	15
D II	0	2	2	0	0	4
Internally Adapted ..	4	9	3	1	2	19
D III	5	2	1	4	0	12
E II	0	0	1	3	2	6
Socially Adapted	5	2	2	7	2	18
Total	21	34	9	14	6	84

TABLE 39a—RESIDENTIALLY LOCATED CHURCHES ATTACHED TO SPECIFIED CENTERS, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Tertiary Centers</i>	<i>Institutional Clusters or Major Axes</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>No. Reporting</i>
A I	1	2	3	11
A II	3	0	3	5
A III	0	1	1	2
B I	0	0	0	5
Unadapted	4	3	7	23
B II	5	5	10	32
B III	5	4	9	22
C I	7	4	11	16
Slightly Adapted	17	13	30	70
C II	4	5	9	33
D II	3	3	6	7
Internally Adapted	7	8	15	40
D III	3	0	3	12
E II	4	2	6	25
Socially Adapted	7	2	9	37
Total	35	26	61	170

TABLE 39b—RESIDENTIALLY LOCATED CHURCHES—QUALITY OF ENVIRONMENT, BY TYPES

<i>Type and Subtype</i>	<i>Quality of Environment</i>			<i>Number Reporting</i>
	<i>High Class</i>	<i>Middle Class</i>	<i>Industrial or Foreign</i>	
A I	0	5	6	11
A II	0	5	0	5
A III	1	0	1	2
B I	0	5	0	5
Unadapted	1	15	7	23
B II	4	20	8	32
B III	3	12	7	22
C I	7	8	1	16
Slightly Adapted	14	40	16	70
C II	13	15	5	33
D II	1	4	2	7
Internally Adapted	14	19	7	40
D III	2	4	2	8
E II	8	15	3	26
Socially Adapted	10	19	5	34
Total	39	93	35	167

TABLE 40—CHURCHES HAVING SPECIFIED PER CENT. OF MEMBERS LIVING WITHIN ONE MILE OF CHURCH BUILDING, BY TYPES AND SIZE OF CITY

<i>Type of Church</i>	<i>Under 25</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Members</i>			<i>Total</i>
		<i>25-49</i>	<i>50-74</i>	<i>75 and Over</i>	
Unadapted	1	6	10	9	26
Slightly Adapted	1	12	17	37	67
Internally Adapted	6	12	17	27	62
Socially Adapted	3	6	16	14	39
Widely Variant	3	2	9	14	28
Total	14	38	69	101	222
<i>Size of City</i>					
Under 250,000	3	10	20	37	70
250,000 to 500,000	6	14	5	12	37
500,000 to 1,000,000	5	11	18	17	51
1,000,000 and over	0	3	26	35	64
Total	14	38	69	101	222

TABLE 41—CENTRALLY LOCATED CHURCHES HAVING SPECIFIED PER CENT. OF MEMBERS LIVING WITHIN ONE MILE OF CHURCH BUILDING, BY TYPES

<i>Type of Church</i>	<i>Under 25</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Members</i>			<i>Total</i>
		<i>25-49</i>	<i>50-74</i>	<i>75 and Over</i>	
Unadapted	1	2	3	0	6
Slightly Adapted	0	11	7	7	25
Internally Adapted	5	5	8	4	22
Socially Adapted	3	3	12	5	23
Widely Variant	1	1	6	5	13
Total	10	22	36	21	89
<i>Size of City</i>					
Under 250,000	1	5	10	0	16
250,000 to 500,000	5	10	3	4	22
500,000 to 1,000,000	4	5	6	4	19
1,000,000 and over	0	2	17	13	32
Total	10	22	36	21	89

TABLE 42—RESIDENTIALLY LOCATED CHURCHES HAVING SPECIFIED PER CENT. OF MEMBERS LIVING WITHIN ONE MILE OF CHURCH BUILDING, BY TYPES AND SIZE OF CITY

<i>Type of Church</i>	<i>Under 25</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Members</i>			<i>Total</i>
		<i>25-49</i>	<i>50-74</i>	<i>75 and Over</i>	
Unadapted	0	4	7	7	18
Slightly Adapted	1	1	10	30	42
Internally Adapted	1	7	9	23	40
Socially Adapted	0	3	4	9	16
Widely Variant	2	1	3	9	15
Total	4	16	33	78	131
<i>Size of City</i>					
Under 250,000	2	6	10	35	53
250,000 to 500,000	1	3	2	9	15
500,000 to 1,000,000	1	6	12	11	30
1,000,000 and over	0	1	9	23	33
Total	4	16	33	78	131

TABLE 43—DIRECTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH MEMBERS IN QUADRANTS, BY TYPES AND SIZE OF CITY

<i>Type of Church</i>	<i>Number of Parishes</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Normally Balanced</i>	<i>Unbalanced</i>	<i>Very Unbalanced</i>	
Unadapted	9	9	4	22
Slightly Adapted	9	17	20	46
Internally Adapted	21	13	15	49
Socially Adapted	5	2	13	20
Widely Variant	7	8	2	17
Total	51	49	54	154

TABLE 43—DIRECTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH MEMBERS IN QUADRANTS, BY TYPES AND SIZE OF CITY
(Continued)

<i>Size of City</i>	<i>Normally Balanced</i>	<i>Number of Parishes</i>		<i>Total</i>
		<i>Unbalanced</i>	<i>Very Unbalanced</i>	
Under 250,000	21	15	17	53
250,000 to 500,000	10	9	9	28
500,000 to 1,000,000	8	15	21	44
1,000,000 and over	12	10	7	29
Total	51	49	54	154

TABLE 44—DIRECTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH MEMBERS WITHIN TWO QUADRANTS, BY TYPES AND SIZE OF CITY

<i>Type of Church</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Number of Parishes</i>		<i>Total</i>
		<i>Unbalanced</i>	<i>Very Unbalanced</i>	
Unadapted	10	9	3	22
Slightly Adapted	11	19	16	46
Internally Adapted	23	11	15	49
Socially Adapted	4	6	10	20
Widely Variant	9	6	2	17
Total	57	51	46	154

<i>Size of City</i>				
Under 250,000	21	19	13	53
250,000 to 500,000	11	11	6	28
500,000 to 1,000,000	13	15	16	44
1,000,000 and over	12	6	11	29
Total	57	51	46	154

TABLE 45—DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF CHURCHES,
BY DENOMINATIONS

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Unadapted</i>		<i>Slightly Adapted</i>		<i>Internally Adapted</i>		<i>Socially Adapted</i>		<i>Widely Variant</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Baptist	36	14.2	57	15.9	26	13.3	22	20.0	24	19.2	165	15.8
Congregational	20	7.9	45	12.5	23	11.7	10	9.1	12	9.6	110	10.5
Disciples	16	6.3	13	3.6	11	5.6	2	1.8	4	3.2	46	4.4
Methodist Episcopal	43	17.0	53	14.7	53	27.0	24	21.8	28	22.4	201	19.3
Methodist Episcopal, South	12	4.7	14	3.9	4	2.0	5	4.5	4	3.2	39	3.7
Presbyterian	31	12.3	71	19.7	32	16.3	22	20.0	24	19.2	180	17.3
Protestant Episcopal	14	5.6	37	10.3	24	12.3	18	16.4	17	13.6	110	10.5
Lutheran	16	6.3	21	5.8	6	3.1	1	0.9	2	1.6	46	4.4
Other	65	25.7	49	13.6	17	8.7	6	5.5	10	8.0	147	14.1
Total	253	100.0	360	100.0	196	100.0	110	100.0	125	100.0	1,044	100.0

TABLE 46—DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF CHURCHES,
BY SIZE OF CITY

<i>Size of City</i>	<i>Un- adapted</i>	<i>Slightly Adapted</i>	<i>Internally Adapted</i>	<i>Socially Adapted</i>	<i>Widely Variant</i>	<i>Total</i>
Under 100,000	10	12	3	0	2	27
100,000 to 250,000 .	102	111	65	24	31	333
250,000 to 500,000 .	25	75	45	18	25	188
500,000 to 750,000 .	73	87	24	18	26	228
750,000 to 1,000,000	33	33	20	15	15	116
1,000,000 and over .	10	42	39	35	26	152
Total	253	360	196	110	125	1,044

TABLE 47—DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF CHURCHES,
BY REGIONS

<i>Type and Subtype</i>		<i>North- east</i>	<i>North Central</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Total</i>
A I		31	19	4	36	90
A II		11	6	5	13	35
A III		7	6	0	14	27
B I		35	19	16	31	101
Unadapted	No.	84	50	25	94	253
	%	33.2	19.7	9.9	37.2	100.0
B II		64	31	23	43	161
B III		33	25	3	23	84
C I		35	32	18	30	115
Slightly Adapted	No.	132	88	44	96	360
	%	36.7	24.4	12.2	26.7	100.0
C II		44	46	9	17	116
D II		25	38	13	4	80
Internally Adapted	No.	69	84	22	21	196
	%	35.2	42.9	11.2	10.7	100.0
D III		15	18	6	4	43
E II		12	24	2	0	38
Socially Adapted	No.	31	67	8	4	110
	%	27.3	61.8	7.3	3.6	100.0
Total of 4 Types	No.	316	289	99	215	919
	%	34.3	31.5	10.8	23.4	100.0
A IV		16	2	3	11	32
A V		4	6	0	5	15
B IV		4	4	2	1	11
C III		6	12	2	10	30
D I		7	14	3	3	27
E I		4	6	0	0	10
Widely Variant	No.	41	44	10	30	125
	%	32.8	35.2	8.0	24.0	100.0
Grand Total	No.	357	333	109	245	1,044
	%	34.2	31.9	10.4	23.5	100.0

TABLE 48—AVERAGE NUMBER OF NATIVE-BORN POPULATION PER PROTESTANT CHURCH ("TOTAL" AND "REGULAR") AND RATIO OF PROTESTANT MEMBERS TO NATIVE-BORN POPULATION IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY (1916)

<i>Region and Size of City</i>	<i>Number per Protestant Church</i>	<i>Number per "Regular" Protestant Church</i>	<i>Per Cent. Ratio of Total Church Members to Total Native-born Population</i>
Northeast			
100,000 to 250,000	1,552	1,792	22.0
250,000 to 500,000	2,100	2,346	17.4
500,000 to 1,000,000	1,726	1,826	21.9
1,000,000 and over	2,626	2,746	14.8
Total	2,119	2,293	17.5
South			
100,000 to 250,000	932	993	33.1
250,000 to 500,000	1,526	1,602	19.9
500,000 to 1,000,000	1,554	1,632	22.4
Total	1,133	1,201	27.7
North Central			
100,000 to 250,000	1,357	1,517	22.9
250,000 to 500,000	1,581	1,721	20.1
500,000 to 1,000,000	2,427	2,590	15.6
1,000,000 and over	2,194	2,262	14.5
Total	1,835	1,979	17.9
West			
100,000 to 250,000	1,335	1,527	12.4
250,000 to 500,000	1,240	1,428	16.9
500,000 to 1,000,000	1,719	1,893	11.4
Total	1,437	1,626	13.6
Total, 100,000 to 250,000	1,226	1,356	25.2
250,000 to 500,000	1,573	1,733	18.9
500,000 to 1,000,000	1,922	2,051	17.7
1,000,000 and over	2,495	2,595	14.7
Grand Total	1,731	1,870	18.8

TABLE 49—NUMBER OF ALL CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS AND PROTESTANT ORGANIZATIONS IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY (1920)

From Census of Religious Bodies, 1916

<i>Region and Size of City</i>	<i>No. of Church Organizations, 1916</i>	<i>No. of Protestant Organizations, 1916</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Northeast			
100,000 to 250,000	1,587	1,159	73.0
250,000 to 500,000	492	354	71.9
500,000 to 1,000,000	1,099	788	71.8
1,000,000 and over	3,336	1,921	57.6
Total	6,514	4,222	64.7
South			
100,000 to 250,000	2,041	1,861	91.2
250,000 to 500,000	594	504	84.9
500,000 to 1,000,000	494	418	84.8
Total	3,129	2,783	89.0
North Central			
100,000 to 250,000	1,331	1,096	82.3
250,000 to 500,000	1,234	1,007	81.5
500,000 to 1,000,000	1,075	795	74.0
1,000,000 and over	1,226	863	70.4
Total	4,866	3,761	77.2
West			
100,000 to 250,000	357	262	73.4
250,000 to 500,000	633	530	83.7
500,000 to 1,000,000	589	467	79.3
Total	1,579	1,259	79.7
Total U. S.			
100,000 to 250,000	5,316	4,378	82.4
250,000 to 500,000	2,953	2,395	81.1
500,000 to 1,000,000	3,257	2,468	75.8
1,000,000 and over	4,562	2,784	61.0
Grand Total	16,088	12,025	74.7

TABLE 50—MEMBERSHIP OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY

<i>Region and Size of City</i>	<i>Number of Organizations</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>Average Members Per Church</i>
Northeast			
100,000 to 250,000	1,158	395,627	342
250,000 to 500,000	354	129,162	365
500,000 to 1,000,000	785	298,125	380
1,000,000 and over	1,913	744,024	389
Total	4,210	1,566,938	372
South			
100,000 to 250,000	1,857	573,521	309
250,000 to 500,000	504	153,141	304
500,000 to 1,000,000	415	145,676	351
Total	2,776	872,338	314
North Central			
100,000 to 250,000	1,092	340,629	312
250,000 to 500,000	1,003	319,485	319
500,000 to 1,000,000	793	301,580	380
1,000,000 and over	862	274,731	319
Total	3,750	1,236,425	330
West			
100,000 to 250,000	252	43,289	172
250,000 to 500,000	530	110,849	209
500,000 to 1,000,000	466	91,321	196
Total	1,248	245,459	197
Total U. S.			
100,000 to 250,000	4,359	1,353,066	310
250,000 to 500,000	2,391	712,637	298
500,000 to 1,000,000	2,459	836,702	341
1,000,000 and over	2,775	1,018,755	367
Grand Total	11,984	3,921,160	327

TABLE 51—AVERAGE NUMBER OF PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS PER CITY, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY, IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER

<i>Size of City</i>	<i>Northeast</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>North Central</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Total U. S.</i>
100,000 to 250,000	15	19	24	25	19
250,000 to 500,000	31	26	28	30	26
500,000 to 1,000,000	31	39	34	34	33
1,000,000 and over	47	..	53	..	49
Total	20	21	28	29	24

TABLE 52—"OTHER" PROTESTANT AND TOTAL NUMBER OF PROTESTANT CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY

Population	Northeast			South			North Central			West			Total U. S.		
	Organizations	Per Cent.		Organizations	Per Cent.		Organizations	Per Cent.		Organizations	Per Cent.		Organizations	Per Cent.	
100,000 to 250,000..	1,159	155	13.4	1,861	114	6.1	1,096	116	10.6	982	53	12.6	4,378	418	9.6
250,000 to 500,000..	354	37	10.4	504	24	4.8	1,007	82	8.1	582	23	12.6	4,378	418	9.6
500,000 to 1,000,000	788	43	5.5	418	20	4.8	1,795	50	6.3	467	43	9.2	2,328	213	8.9
1,000,000 and over..	1,921	84	4.4	....	....	....	863	26	3.0	....	....	....	2,784	116	4.3
Total	4,222	319	7.6	2,783	138	5.7	3,761	274	7.3	1,259	146	11.6	12,025	897	7.5

TABLE 53—AVERAGE SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY (1916)

<i>Region and Size of City</i>	<i>Average Number of Members</i>
Northeast	
100,000 to 250,000	230
250,000 to 500,000	271
500,000 to 1,000,000	243
1,000,000 and over	268
Total	253
South	
100,000 to 250,000	190
250,000 to 500,000	172
500,000 to 1,000,000	234
Total	193
North Central	
100,000 to 250,000	228
250,000 to 500,000	212
500,000 to 1,000,000	257
1,000,000 and over	218
Total	227
West	
100,000 to 250,000	125
250,000 to 500,000	156
500,000 to 1,000,000	130
Total	141
Total U. S.	
100,000 to 250,000	206
250,000 to 500,000	196
500,000 to 1,000,000	225
1,000,000 and over	253
Grand Total	211

TABLE 54—AVERAGE ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENSES OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY (1916)

<i>Region and Size of City</i>	<i>Average Current Expense</i>
Northeast	
100,000 to 250,000	\$5,650
250,000 to 500,000	6,442
500,000 to 1,000,000	7,769
1,000,000 and over	8,742
Total	7,536
South	
100,000 to 250,000	3,797
250,000 to 500,000	4,517
500,000 to 1,000,000	4,776
Total	4,083
North Central	
100,000 to 250,000	5,017
250,000 to 500,000	4,509
500,000 to 1,000,000	6,578
1,000,000 and over	5,254
Total	5,240
West	
100,000 to 250,000	2,881
250,000 to 500,000	3,241
500,000 to 1,000,000	3,729
Total	3,339
Total U. S.	
100,000 to 250,000	4,538
250,000 to 500,000	4,516
500,000 to 1,000,000	6,112
1,000,000 and over	7,672
Grand Total	5,592

TABLE 55—VALUE OF PROTESTANT CHURCH PROPERTY IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY

<i>Region and Size of City</i>	<i>Number of Organizations</i>	<i>Total Property Value</i>	<i>Average Property Value</i>
Northeast			
100,000 to 250,000	1,020	\$41,859,116	\$41,038
250,000 to 500,000	305	14,664,803	48,245
500,000 to 1,000,000	706	29,666,175	42,020
1,000,000 and over	1,708	152,507,758	89,290
Total	3,739	238,697,852	64,378
South			
100,000 to 250,000	1,663	33,179,170	19,951
250,000 to 500,000	359	14,625,783	40,740
500,000 to 1,000,000	378	12,060,818	31,907
Total	2,400	60,471,128	25,196
North Central			
100,000 to 250,000	995	23,723,216	23,842
250,000 to 500,000	801	24,808,939	30,972
500,000 to 1,000,000	713	26,581,983	37,282
1,000,000 and over	756	21,776,869	28,805
Total	3,265	96,891,007	29,673
West			
100,000 to 250,000	216	4,656,870	21,560
250,000 to 500,000	460	9,099,052	19,781
500,000 to 1,000,000	393	10,729,138	27,301
Total	1,069	24,485,060	22,905
Total U. S.			
100,000 to 250,000	3,894	103,418,372	26,558
250,000 to 500,000	1,925	63,198,577	32,778
500,000 to 1,000,000	2,190	79,038,114	36,090
1,000,000 and over	2,464	174,284,627	70,732
Grand Total	10,473	419,939,690	40,097

TABLE 56—RANKING OF CITY CHURCHES ON 12 SPECIFIC ITEMS, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY

	North-east	North-Central	South	West	United States	100,000 to 250,000	250,000 to 500,000	500,000 to 1,000,000	1,000,000 and over	Total
Degree of Development of City Churches										
RANK	2	1	3	4	....	4	2	3	1	....
Native-born Population per Protestant Church										
NUMBER	2,119	1,835	1,133	1,437	1,731	1,226	1,573	1,922	2,495	1,731
RANK	4	3	1	2	....	1	2	3	4	....
Ratio of Protestant Members to Native-born Population										
PER CENT.	17.5	17.9	27.7	13.6	18.8	25.2	18.9	17.7	14.7	18.8
RANK	3	2	1	4	....	1	2	3	4	....
Ratio Protestant Church Organizations to All Churches										
PER CENT.	64.7	77.2	89.0	79.7	74.7	82.4	81.1	75.8	61.0	74.7
RANK	4	3	1	2	....	1	2	3	4	....
Ratio "Other" Protestant to Total Protestant Churches										
PER CENT.	7.6	7.3	5.7	11.6	7.5	9.6	8.9	6.3	4.0	7.5
RANK	3	2	1	4	....	4	3	2	1	....
Average Number Protestant Denominations per City										
NUMBER	20	28	21	29	24	19	26	33	49	24
RANK	4	2	3	1	....	4	3	2	1	....
Average Membership per Protestant Church										
NUMBER	372	330	314	197	327	310	298	340	367	327
RANK	1	2	3	4	....	3	4	2	1	....
Ratio of Male to Total Membership										
PER CENT.	36.9	40.1	38.4	39.4	38.3	39.5	38.6	40.0	35.6	38.3
RANK	4	1	3	2	....	2	3	1	4	....
Average Current Expense per Church										
AMOUNT	\$7,536	\$5,240	\$4,083	\$3,339	\$5,592	\$4,538	\$4,516	\$6,112	\$7,672	\$5,592
RANK	1	2	3	4	....	3	4	2	1	....
Average Sunday School Enrollment per Church										
NUMBER	253	227	193	141	211	206	196	225	253	211
RANK	1	2	3	4	....	3	4	2	1	....
Average Value of Property per Church										
AMOUNT	\$64,378	\$29,673	\$25,196	\$22,905	\$40,097	\$26,558	\$32,778	\$36,090	\$70,732	\$40,097
RANK	1	2	3	4	....	4	3	2	1	....
Ratio of Halls to Church Edifices										
PER CENT.	17.5	8.3	7.1	9.8	12.0	7.8	8.6	9.1	21.1	12.0
RANK	4	2	1	3	....	1	2	3	4	....

TABLE 57—HALLS AND ALL PLACES OF WORSHIP, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY

Population	Northeast			South			North Central			West			Total U. S.		
	Places of Worship	Halls	% Ratio	Places of Worship	Halls	% Ratio	Places of Worship	Halls	% Ratio	Places of Worship	Halls	% Ratio	Places of Worship	Halls	% Ratio
100,000 to 250,000..	1,528	148	9.7	1,968	130	6.6	1,289	91	7.1	340	31	9.1	5,125	400	7.8
250,000 to 500,000..	478	61	12.8	580	49	8.5	1,185	83	7.0	592	50	8.5	2,835	243	8.6
500,000 to 1,000,000	1,039	99	9.5	477	37	7.8	1,046	82	7.8	548	64	11.7	3,110	282	9.1
1,000,000 and over..	3,215	787	24.5	....	....	....	1,158	135	11.7	....	....	....	4,373	922	21.1
Total	6,260	1,095	17.5	3,025	216	7.1	4,678	391	8.3	1,480	145	9.8	15,443	1,847	12.0 *

* Omitting New York City the ratio is 9.4.

TABLE 58—PER CENT. OF MALE MEMBERS IN TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER, BY REGION AND SIZE OF CITY

<i>Region and Size of City</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Northeast	
100,000 to 250,000	40.4
250,000 to 500,000	38.8
500,000 to 1,000,000	39.9
1,000,000 and over	33.8
Total	36.9
South	
100,000 to 250,000	39.1
250,000 to 500,000	36.5
500,000 to 1,000,000	38.5
Total	38.4
North Central	
100,000 to 250,000	39.3
250,000 to 500,000	39.5
500,000 to 1,000,000	40.8
1,000,000 and over	40.8
Total	40.1
West	
100,000 to 250,000	37.7
250,000 to 500,000	39.4
500,000 to 1,000,000	40.2
Total	39.4
Total U. S.	
100,000 to 250,000	39.5
250,000 to 500,000	38.6
500,000 to 1,000,000	40.0
1,000,000 and over	35.6
Grand Total	38.3

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